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POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BADAMI

D. P. DIKSHIT

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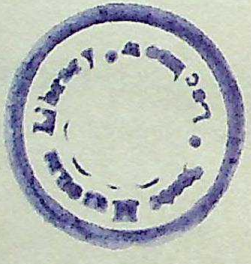

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First Edition: 1980

PUBLISHERS

Shakti Malik
Abhinav Publications
E-37, Hauz Khas, New Delhi-110016

PRINTERS

Hans Raj Gupta & Sons
Anand Parbat, New Delhi-110005

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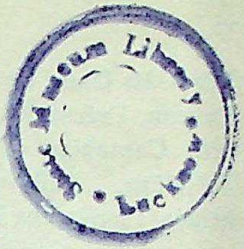

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PREFACE

The present work is an attempt at dealing with problems connected with the political history and administration of the Chālukyas of Badami. The history of this family, which is the earliest among others, namely, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, those of Veṅgi and the Chālukyas of Gujarat, has no doubt been studied by several scholars in the past and this work, therefore, cannot be claimed to be *terra-incognita*. It, nevertheless, needs fresh thinking in the light of new evidence available in the form of inscriptions. This would, no doubt, mean a reconsideration of the origin and history of this dynasty and its relations with the contemporary powers both in the North and in the South.

It is equally interesting to note that history has repeated itself in the rise and fall of the Chālukyas. The early Chālukyas, as has been shown in the following pages, rose to power from a vassal status and had yielded to their vassal's imperial aspirations. This is even true in the case of their successors, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, who had to submit to a branch of the Chālukyas. Besides the political history of the dynasty, detailed notice has also been taken of their administration, together with their revenue system and army organisation, as deduced from the dynastic records. The Chālukyas patronised the art and architecture of no mean order, as is evident from the temple-cities of Vāṭāpi, Aihole and Paṭṭaḍakal.

Unfortunately, no 'Bāṇa' or 'Kalhaṇa' nor any contemporary poet of the South Indian languages has detailed the exploits of a particular king or kings of the dynasty. Hence the paucity of literary evidence. Yet the importance of the period is suggested by the achievements and exploits of the rulers both in peace and in war. As such, an attempt has been made to throw light on the tangled skeins of the events, based on their inscriptions, which have aroused numerous controversies.

The idea to work over this dynasty occurred to the present author, while preparing the 'Topographical List of the Inscriptions of Mahārāshṭra and Goa from earliest time to 1300 A.D.',

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as a U.G.C. Project, which involved not only the compilation of several details concerning the political history but also summarising the inscriptions. The pursuit of the above research project provided an opportunity to go through Chālukyan epigraphs, many of which were found with contents not in full conformity with the published history of the dynasty. The engagement also offered an opportunity to study the inscriptions afresh. It took several years to compile and collect the available material from different libraries and the office of the Chief Epigraphist for India, Mysore. Before the enquiries could take the form of the present thesis, a few problems crept in which proved a stumbling block in getting it processed, and though the time was a little exacting, it was utilised in making the enquiry more comprehensive and uptodate, as far as was possible.

No words can adequately convey the author's sense of deep gratitude towards his teacher and mentor, Prof. R.K. Dikshit, Retd. Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University, who all along guided him during the time this work was in progress. The author also expresses his deep sense of gratitude towards his teacher and supervisor, Dr. B.N. Puri, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil. (Oxon), Retd. Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University. The author places on record his great indebtedness to Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. V.V. Mirashi, who initiated him in research methodology and extended every possible help and opportunity to work in the fields of epigraphy and history. Besides the writer owes his ideas to work over the present subject to Dr. A.M. Shastri, who spared no pains to help him in the successful prosecution of this task. The author also places on record his respectful thanks to Dr. S.D. Singh, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Queensland, Australia, who gave his precious time and help which proved to be of great benefit. The author also records his sense of gratitude to Dr. S.S. Misra, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Lucknow University.

No less indebted is the writer to Dr. B.N. Srivastava, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University, for the help and encouragement in various

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ways all along since his university days. The author also feels indebted for the support and encouragement received from his father, Shri B.P. Dixit, and Shri Deo Sharma Shasrti who longed to see the completion of this work much earlier The writer also records his thankfulness to Prof. K.D. Bajpai, Dr. K.K. Thaplyal, Prof. R.P. Singh (Mysore Univer-(sity, Shri J.P. Misra, Dr. B.C. Jain, Shri S.V.S. Dixit and Shri L.R. Shukla.

The author is pleased to record his thankfulness to Dr. G.S. Gai, the learned Chief Epigraphist, Government of India, Mysore, his library staff, the authorities of the State Museum and Library, Lucknow, the staff of the Tagore Library, Lucknow University, the staff of the Nagpur University Library and of the U.P. Legislative Assembly Library, Lucknow, and the Principal and Librarian, B.S.N.V. Degree College, Lucknow, who provided all necessary facilities and consideration in this project.

No amount of words can express the thankfulness of the author to the Government of Uttar Pradesh and the Hon'ble Dr. S.N. Nautiyal, Minister for Higher Education, U.P. who evinced keen interest in the prosecution and publication of this work. The author also records his indebtedness to Dr. B.N. Sharma, Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi, who helped in enabling this work to see the light of day. The author also places on record his gratitude to the authorities of the Lucknow University, who very kindly accorded permission to publish this work, which was originally submitted to the University for the award of the Ph.D. degree to him. The writer also expresses his thankfulness to Shri Shakti Malik, Proprietor, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi and his staff for the publication of the work in record time.

Deepamalika, Oct. 1979 D.P. DIKSHIT

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIK	Age of Imperial Kanauj
AHD	Ancient History of Deccan
ARASI	Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India
ARG	Ancient Records of Goa
ARIE	Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy
ARSIE	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy
AS	Arthaśāstra
BDCRI	Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute
BG	Bombay Gazetteer
BKI	Bombay Karnataka Inscriptions
CA	Classical Age
CG	Chālukyas of Gujarat
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CPIAPGM	Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum
DKD	Dynasties of Kanarese Districts
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica
EHD	Early History of Deccan (Yazdani)
EHDB	Early History of Deccan (Bhandarkar)
EHDD	Economic History of Deccan (Das)
EHNI	Early History of Northern India
ELNIGP	Economic Life of Northern India in Gupta Period
FNSI	Foreign Notices of South India
HAT	Harshavardhan and His Times
HD	History of Dharmaśāstra
HK	History of Karṇāṭaka
HKT	History of Kannauj (Tripathi)
HPK	History of Pallavas of Kāñchī
HRS	Hindu Revenue System
HSI	History of South India
HIA	History of Indian Administration
HGP	History of Gurjara Pratihāras
HMHI	History of Mediaeval Hindu India
IA	Indian Antiquary

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IAR	Indian Archaeology—A Review
IDRE	India's Diplomatic Relations with the East
IE	Indian Ephemeris; Indian Epigraphy
IEG	Indian Epigraphical Glossary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IIBS	Important Inscriptions from Baroda State
INKK	Inscriptions of North Karṇāṭaka and Kolhapur
JAHRS	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
JBISM	Journal of Bhārat Itihāsa Saṁśodhan Maṇḍala
JBU	Journal of Bombay University
JDL	Journal of Department of Letters
JMSI	Journal of Maharaja Sayaji Rao Institute Journal of Mythic Society of India
JKU	Journal of Karṇāṭaka University
JNSI	Journal of Numismatic Society of India
JOHR	Journal of Orissa Historical Research
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
KD	Karnataka Darshan
KI	Karnataka Inscriptions
KK	Kadamba Kula
KTA	Karṇāṭaka Through the Ages
MASR	Mysore Archaeological Survey Report
MCS	Manasollasa—A Cultural Study
MCTI	Mysore and Coorg Through Inscriptions
NUJ	Nagpur University Journal
PIHC	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
POC	Proceedings of Oriental Conference
SEDSI	Some Early Dynasties of South India
SGAI	State Government in Ancient India
SI	Select Inscriptions
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
SIP	South Indian Polity
SKH	Sources of the Karṇāṭaka History
SMH	Sources of the Mediaeval History
VSMV	Vidarbha Saṁśodhan Maṇḍala (Vārshika)
WAI	War in Ancient India

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POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BADAMI

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I

Introduction

THE sixth century A.D. is an important landmark in the history of the Deccan. It is noted for the emergence of a new power which held sway over extensive areas in that region from the middle of the sixth to about middle of the eighth centuries A.D. At a time when there were a number of kingdoms fighting for supremacy, the Chālukyas emerged triumphant after defeating the early Rāshṭrakūṭas,[1] and then forced the other small powers to rally round them, thus justifying in letter and spirit the concept of *Mātsyanyāya*. The rulers of this dynasty strove their best to bring about political unity in that part of the country. They never compromised with their set ideal of *Ekarāṭa* and continuously struggled for the attainment of their mission of supremacy. They were opposed, challenged and sometimes also beaten back, bat even then they were able to establish an empire in the Deccan and thus justified the coveted title of *Dakshiṇāpathapati*, which they assumed.[2] They also measured strength with the rulers of the North, and even Harshavardhana, called *Uttarāpathanātha*, failed to have an upper hand over Pulakeśin II.[3]

The Chālukyas of Badami were eventually successful in uniting major portions of South India between the two Seas. Their metropolis was Vāṭāpi, a city of Pauranic antiquity, now known as Badami, in the Bijapur district of Karṇāṭaka.[4] The dynasty is occasionally called the early Western Chālukyas to

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distinguish it from the family of the same stock and lineage, which ruled at Veṅgi and Lāṭa.[5] There were some other Chālukya royal families as well, flourishing several centuries later. There were the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, those of Vemulavāḍā and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat.[6] The records of the families of Veṅgi, Lāṭa, Kalyāṇa and Vemulavāḍā, however, claim their descent from the Badami family.[7] Nothing, however, can be definitely stated about the relations of the Chālukyas of Gujarat with the original line of Badami. The capitals of all these royal Chālukya families were different. In the light of these differences in the nomenclature of these families, it would be better to call the one under study as the Chālukyas of Badami, which ruled over the Deccan and the adjoining regions from circa 540 A.D. to 757 A.D. with its capital at Vāṭāpi, the present Badami.

Deccan on the eve of the Chālukyas

The political condition of the Deccan at that time was one of a disintegrated state with petty ruling families scattered all over the entire area. Barring a few exceptions, these states were always engaged in struggle against one another, with the result that there was no progress, political or material.

The central parts of the Deccan were earlier ruled by the Vākāṭakas[8] and the Nalas.[9] The Chālukyas most probably did not come into contact with the Vākāṭakas but the Nalas did clash with them, resulting in their defeat and acknowledgement of Chālukyan supremacy. It seems that the Vākāṭaka power had vanished prior to the conquest of the region stretching upto the river Narmadā by Pulakeśin II.[10] The Nala rulers had played a significant role in defeating the early Rāshṭrakūṭas along with the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇa.[11] The Nalas and the Mauryas at first defeated their strong neighbour, namely, the early Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,[12] but they could not enjoy the fruits of their victory for long. The Chālukyas, who were probably the vassals of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas, invaded them and occupied the territories earlier taken by the Nalas and the Mauryas from the early Rāshṭrakūṭas. This struggle continued for some years and Kīrttivarman I was able to force them to accept his overlordship. Then followed Nala

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rule subordinate to the Chālukyas.

The western parts of the Deccan were ruled by the Bhojas, the Traikūṭas, the Kalachuris and the early Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Bhojas were North Indian people, who, during the period under review, were ruling in Vidarbha round about modern Amaravati in Maharashtra, as is evident from an inscription of the Vākāṭakas and the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa.[13] Probably a section of the Bhojas was also controlling the Goa region of Konkan. A few records belonging to the Bhoja rulers of Goa have been discovered there.[14] These inscriptions are assigned to the seventh century A.D. on palaeographic grounds.[15] According to R.S. Panchmukhi, king Anirjitavarman, referred to in one of the records, was a ruler of the Bhoja dynasty,[16] while N. Lakshminarayan Rao has suggested that the above-mentioned king belonged to the Maurya dynasty of Konkan.[17] Thus, on the basis of these records, it appears that the Bhojas, who were ruling over Goa in the fifth and sixth centuries, were overpowered by the Mauryas, who themselves were later subjugated by the Chālukyas of Badami.

The Traikūṭas derived their name from Trikūṭa, a hill in north Konkan, as indicated by the Anjaneri Grant of Prithivīchandra Bhogaśakti, an ally of the Chālukyas.[18] They were ruling over the Aparānta and the surrounding region. Their power extended over the coastal country from Kanheri in the south to Surat in the north.[19] The Traikūṭas lost their political entity due to the attacks of the Kalachuris and the Gurjaras. The rise of the Mauryas and the Sūras forced them to retire in political wilderness.[20] The Sūras were the masters of the area in the neighbourhood of Surat which they had occupied after the downfall of the Traikūṭas.[21] The Sūras lost their stronghold to the Kalachuris in the second half of the sixth century A.D., who in turn lost it to the Chālukyas of Badami under the leadership of Maṅgaleśa, as is evident from the Nerur Plates and the Aihole Praśasti.[22]

The Kalachuris (Kaṭachchuri, Kaṭasuri, Kaṭachchhuri or Kalichuri) were a powerful people during the second half of the sixth century A.D., having their occupation over Northern Maharashtra, Gujarat and some parts of Malava.[23] Originally, they belonged to the Anūpa country on the Narmadā.[24] At one stage the Mauryas of Konkan submitted to their supre-

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macy but about the beginning of the seventh century A.D., they were attacked and ousted from the southern parts of their dominions by the Chālukyas. The Gurjaras and the Maitrakas of Vallabhī forced them to vacate the Malava region and to settle down at Tripurī in Jabalpur.[25] It is from the latter place and after long obscurity, that they rose to power in the ninth century A.D. with the defeat of the Kalachuri rulers by Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II. The Chālukyan frontiers were then extended upto the Anūpa country on the river Narmadā.

The early Rāshṭrakūṭas were one of the prominent rulers of the Deccan prior to the establishment of Chālukyan power.[26] Earlier, some scholars doubted their political existence, but we do find references to the two early Rāshṭrakūṭa families ruling in the Deccan.[27] One such family was founded by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Mānāṅka, who was ruling at Mānapura, identified by Prof. Mirashi with modern Māṇ in Satara district of Maharashtra, which must have been their area of domination.[28] Another family was ruling in Berar, as is evidenced from their records.[29] They held sway over the Betul-Amaravati region of the upper Deccan, having their headquarters at Achalapura.[30] The mysterious absence of any reference to the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the *praśastis* of the early conquerors of the Chālukya dynasty and a good bit of similarity between their records and those of the Kadamba dynasty led scholars to believe that the early Rāshṭrakūṭas may have lost their territories to their immediate neighbours—the Nalas and the Mauryas.[31] The Nalas and the Mauryas were defeated by the Chālukyas and that explains why the Chālukyan records refer to them and omit the early Rāshṭrakūṭas, who were not directly involved in the conflict. If we accept the identification of Jayasiṁha of the Uṇḍikāvāṭikā Grant with Jayasiṁha Vallabha,[32] it will follow that when the Nalas and the Mauryas overpowered the early Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Chālukyas declared themselves independent; and after defeating the Nalas and the Mauryas, they consolidated their power and snatched the territory held by the early Rāshṭrakūṭas.

The Eastern Deccan was ruled by many small dynasties, viz., the Ānandas, the Śālaṅkāyanas, the Vishṇukuṇḍins, the Pitṛbhaktas, the Māṭharas, the Vāsishṭhas, the Eastern Gaṅgas, the Śarbhapurīyas, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis of South Kośala and

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Mekala and several other insignificant families. The ancient Āndhradeśa was governed by the Ānandas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Vishṇukuṇḍins. The Ānandas were having their hold over the area near the present Guntur.[33] The Ānandas never came into direct contact with the Chālukyas. Probably their territory was snatched by the Pallavas in the third quarter of the sixth century A.D. Afterwards, the Chālukyas conquered that region from the Pallavas. The Śālaṅkāyanas are known to have occupied the country between the Kṛshṇā and the Godāvarī. Their sway extended over the West Godāvarī and Kṛshṇā districts of Andhra Pradesh.[34] The Maṅgalūr Grant of Siṁhavarman shows that the Pallavas successfully conquered the territories of these dynasties.[35] In the beginning of the sixth century A.D., they were deprived of their territory by the Vishṇukuṇḍins.[36] Later on, in the second half of the seventh century A.D., the Chālukya ruler Pulakeśin II exterminated the Vishṇukuṇḍins and wrested the country which they were controlling. The Chālukya ruler then placed his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana at Pithapuram after finally uprooting the Vishṇukuṇḍins from their territory.[37] Some scholars, however, believe that the territories conquered by Pulakeśin II actually belonged to the Pallavas, and the Chālukyas uprooted the Vishṇukuṇḍins during their march towards Southern India for making their conquests.[38]

The parts of the Eastern Deccan, forming the region of Kaliṅga—the coastal land between the rivers Mahānadī and Godāvarī—were ruled by many dynasties in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The *Vāsishṭhas*, *the Pitṛbhaktas* and the *Māṭharas* were prominent among them. In the early part of the above-mentioned period, the Pitṛbhaktas[39] were ruling from Siṁhapura in central Kaliṅga and the Māṭharas were ruling from modern Pithapuram.[40] Later on, both these powers were subdued by the Vāsishṭhas, who transferred their capital from Devarāshṭra to Pishṭapura.[41] When the above-mentioned families were busy in the struggle for supremacy, a new dynasty of the Eastern Gaṅgas came into prominence.[42] They were the rulers of Kaliṅga in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. The Chālukyas under Pulakeśin II also supplanted them and annexed their territories. Besides these, there were several other powers in the Southern Kośala and Mekala regions of the

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Eastern Deccan. These included the Śarbhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis of South Kośala and Mekala.[43] It appears that these dynasties were also subdued by the Chālukya conqueror Pulakeśin II during his successful march into the Veṅgi country.[44] They were exterminated prior to A.D. 618 or a year earlier, as is evident from the Māruṭūru Plates of Pulakeśin II.[45]

Sources

The sources for reconstructing the history of the Chālukya dynasty are mostly archaeological, including a few contemporary texts relating to the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. In this connection, it is rather astonishing that we do not find any composition of the court-poets of the Imperial Chālukyas, although they themselves were men of letters and equally patronised poets like Ravikīrtti, comparable in literary talents with Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, as is evident from the Aihole Praśasti.[46] The main sources of information about the Badami Chālukyas are, however, either their own epigraphs or the records belonging to their feudatories and adversaries.[47] These sources may now be considered in detail in order of importance thus: literary, epigraphic, monumental, numismatic and accounts of Hiuen-Tsang.

Literary Sources

The literary sources pertaining to the Imperial Chālukyas are no doubt a few. Among these works, special mention may be made of the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa and the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara.[48] The *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* primarily deals with the famous Chālukyan emperor Vikramāditya VI *Satyāśraya* of the Kalyāṇī family and his times. Besides this work, *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*, also called *Mānasollāsa*, of Someśvara III is equally important for the cultural history of the time. Recently, a work entitled *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya*, said to be composed by Someśvara III, has also come to light.[49] It, no doubt, belonged to the later Chālukyas, but it equally helps us in sorting out a few chronological and cultural problems of the early Chālukyas.

There are no other Sanskrit works of importance dealing

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with the Chālukyas, but a few Kannada ones might as well be mentioned. These include works of the Kannada poets Raṇṇa and Pampa. Raṇṇa wrote his *Gadāyuddha* during the reign of the later Chālukya king Irivabeḍaṅga *Satyāśraya*.[50] Besides dealing with the cultural history of the period, it equally provides a few corroborative pieces of information about the Badami Chālukyas. The *Pampa Bharata*, another work in Kannada, supplies the genealogy of the Chālukyas and furnishes information about the cultural condition in that region.[51] The value of these few literary texts lies in corroborating the information which is ferreted out from the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Badami.

The Inscriptions

The Chālukyan records are the main source for the history and culture of the dynasty under study. Their authenticity and veracity need not be doubted, as they were issued under the command of the rulers, and were recovered from the regions forming part of the Chālukyan dominions. It was on their basis that a complete history and administrative pattern of the Chālukyas could be recorded and evaluated. So far about 150 inscriptions referring to them have come to light.[52] Nearly a dozen inscriptions belonging to the early Chālukyas of Lāṭa, a subordinate collateral branch of the Badami house, are also helpful in this respect.[53] The records of the Pallavas of Kāñchī, the Sendrakas and the other Chālukyan feudatories also go a long way in projecting the political relations of the Chālukyas with the southern powers.[54]

The Chālukyan records inscribed on stone numbering 96 and those on Copper Plates being 63 in number, no doubt, include a few spurious ones as well, though their number is only 13.[55] All the copper plates consist of government orders given by members of the royal family or the feudatory rulers according sanction to the grants, which are mostly donative in nature. In these records, we sometimes find references to administrative officials. The operative parts of the Chālukyan grants usually carry details of donations addressed to the royal officials by the king or his feudatory.[56] These records are generally sectarian in character and are associated with the divinity propitiated by

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the grantor.

A few Chālukyan epigraphs are purely administrative ones as well, either relating to concessions in taxes and levies or record mutual obligations and rights of the royal authorities and local bodies. In this connection, the Lakshmeśvar Inscription of Prince Vikramāditya II is a good example.[57]

The bulk of the Chālukyan records are, however, of a mixed variety, donative and administrative. Besides recording donations, these mention officials who were expected to carry out[58] the royal orders. As such, the value of these records lies equally in the administrative information contained in them. Though all the records supply, in general, the information relating to rulers and their titles, there are two in the form of *Praśastis*. These are the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa and the famous Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II, hereafter referred to as the Aihole Praśasti.[59] Ravikīrtti, its composer, furnishes the history of the dynasty prior to the rule of Pulakeśin II in this record. The Chālukyan epigraphs are found recorded on rocks, caves, pillars, temples, images, tanks, walls, slabs and tablets. The majority of the stone inscriptions of this dynasty are incised on slabs, tablets and pillars. Among the rock inscriptions of this dynasty may be mentioned the Badami Inscription of the Śaka year 465[60] and the Yekkeri Stone Inscription of Pulakeśin II.[61] The cave records of the Chālukyas are, however, only found at Badami. In this group, we can mention the Badami Cave Inscription of the Śaka year 500, and the Badami Inscription of Maṅgaleśa.[62] The pillar inscriptions of the Chālukyas are found at Badami, Mahākūṭa and Paṭṭaḍakal. The pillars were generally set up to mark royal victory or spiritual gains, as is evident from the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa.[63] This record engraved on a red sandstone monolithic column, called *Dharma Jayastambha*, was found in the courtyard of the Mahākūṭa temple.[64] The Paṭṭaḍakal Pillar was set up in the middle of the three temples of *Trailokyeśvara*, *Vijayeśvara* and *Lokeśvara*, with a great *triśula* symbol. This pillar is known as *Lakshmī Khaṁbhā* and is an object of worship even today.[65]

Chālukyan inscriptions recorded on tanks, walls and cisterns are rare, and usually lack any historical information. However, we do find a good number of temple inscriptions belonging to

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this dynasty. These are generally engraved on parts of temples such as walls, pillars, pilasters, beams as well as slabs placed in shrines. The celebrated Aihole Praśasti of Pulakeśin II is recorded in the famous Meguti Temple at Aihole.[66] We also find dynastic records at Baṭṭerappa, Jambuliṅga and Durgā temples.[67] Several epigraphs belonging to Vikramāditya II are engraved on the temple wall at Paṭṭaḍakal.[68] The famous Kāñchī Inscription of Vikramaditya II is found engraved on a *maṇḍapa* pillar in front of the Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñchī.[69] Some records belonging to this family are also found at the temples at Badami.[70]

A few Chālukyan records are also found on slabs and tablets of various sizes. These are generally mutilated. Sometimes slabs or tablets are sculptured and carry the reliefs of symbols, animals, and other objects. In this connection, the slab recording an assignment of the tax to the *Mahājanas* of Muguṇḍa is worth mentioning.[71] The incised tablets commemorating the death of heroes in battles are usually well-sculptured and contain three panels.[72] The bottom one in two parts depicts the hero fighting and finally being killed by his enemies surrounding him. The middle panel shows the hero being taken along by the nymphs of heaven and the uppermost panel depicts him in heaven, worshipping his favourite deity. Such tablets or hero-stones are known as *viragaḷas* in Kannada. These, no doubt, are peculiar to Karnataka, but are also found in the Maharashtra and Andhra area of the Chālukyan empire.[73] It is a unique way of honouring those dying on the battlefield. The inscriptions on these tablets carry the details of the life of heroes and their achievements.

The most noteworthy feature of the Chālukyan records is the general agreement and uniformity in recording genealogical lists. In a few cases, the names of the early members of the family are ignored.[74] In certain other cases, the names of the prominent members of the family have been omitted, though their exploits are recorded.[75] The prose passages of genealogical portions, similar to those found in Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī*, recall to one's mind the classical style of prose-writing of the period under review.

The dynastic records eulogise kings, enumerating their exploits. The chief queen of the monarch is also praised in

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certain cases.[76] The *praśastis* of kings are found both in prose and in verse. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa is a fine example of a Chālukyan prose-*praśasti*.[77] The scope of a *praśasti* is not confined to military achievements alone, but personal, physical, and moral attributes also are brought within the purview of the *praśastis*.[78] Several mythological allusions, set out to praise the kings, evince considerable knowledge of the two great epics and Pauranic lore on the part of the composers.[79]

The Aihole Praśasti is a fine piece of poetry composed by Ravikīrtti.[80] The author of this *praśasti* claims for himself the status equivalent to that of poets like Kālidāsa and Bhāravi.[81] In recording the construction of the Jain temple, the author praises, at great length, the achievements of his patron, namely, Pulakeśin II.[82] The historical and poetic value of this record is unique for shedding considerable light on contemporary events. Its language is figurative and the style is classical. Ravikīrtti has used at least seventeen different metres to compose this record.[83] In this connection, Kielhorn has proposed Ravikīrtti's indebtedness to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, on the basis of several parallels traceable to the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kirātārjunīyam*, respectively.[84] The use of *Utprekshā alaṁkāra* in this *praśasti* is not only of high poetic order but also shows the poet's knowledge of Sanskrit poetics.[85]

The description of Pulakeśin's conquests in the Aihole Praśasti appears to be based on the model of *Raghudigvijaya* as recorded in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*.[86] The phrase *yathā vidhihutāgnīnām yathā kāmarchitārthinām*, occurring in the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa, is probably taken by the author of the aforesaid inscription from the *Raghuvaṁśa*.[87] The expression *aśvamedhāvabhṛtha snānapavatrikṛta śarīrasya* reminds us of the same phrase used in a Vākāṭaka record.[88] Scholars notice the influence of the Kadambas and Chuṭus in a phrase *Hāritiputrāṇām Manuvyāsagotrāṇām* occurring in various records of the Chālukyas.[89] The expression *meru malaya samāna dhairya* used by Ravikīrtti to praise Pulakeśin II appears to have been taken from the Nasik Inscription of Pulamāvi, where we come across the phrase *Himavata merumandara parvata sama sāhasa*.[90] We also notice the influence of the Gupta style and terminology in the Yekkeri Stone

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Inscription and a few other epigraphs.

Coins

The importance of coins as a source of history is well known and very helpful in determining the chronological framework of the dynasty to which they are related. From the cultural point of view, the intrinsic value and circulation of coins point to the prosperity and extent of the kingdom of that family. Sometimes these are important for determining political relations as well, as, for instance, the Guptas supplanting the Śakas in the time of Chandragupta II is well established from the Śaka coins restamped by the Guptas.[91] A good deal of information relating to the dress, ornaments and costumes of the period is also available from a study of the coins. These also serve as corroborative pieces of evidence on matters relating to political history. As such the importance of the Chālukya coins need not be undermined though only a few coins of Vikramāditya I alone have been found.[92] The absence of specimens of other kings is inexplicable.

The dynastic records refer to several coin denominations; namely, *gadyāṇaka* (*gadyāṇa*), *rupaka* and *paṇa*.[93] The *gadyāṇaka* or *gadyāṇa* were gold coins.[94] The Anjaneri Plates of Bhogaśakti mention *Kṛshṇarāja rupaka*, a particular type of coin which was recirculated after the occupation of the Kalachuri territory by the Chālukyas. The word *Kṛshṇarāja* is prefixed to the general coin denomination *rupaka* (silver coin), which symbolises the Chālukyan conquest of the Kalachuri kingdom where they circulated their own coins. We also find a reference to the *paṇas* in the Lakshmeśvar Pillar Inscription of Vikramāditya II,[95] which was probably the copper currency of the early Chālukyas. As the early Chālukyas were the first rulers of the South to adopt the *varāha* crest as their dynastic emblem, being devotees of the *varāha* incarnation of Lord Vishṇu,[96] it may be suggested that *varāha* coin denomination received its nomenclature from the Chālukyan coins carrying the *varāha* figure.

Some early medieval coins discovered in the old Mysore State and Andhra Pradesh with the *varāha* figure stamped on them, are attributed to the Badami Chālukyas by Elliot and

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M.H. Krishna.[97] Some other coins found in the South are also ascribed to the Chālukyas by Desikachari and others.[98] This is, however, conjectural and doubtful. Shri N. Ramayya has, no doubt, published some coins of Vikramāditya I, which are definitely ascribable to the Early Chālukyas.[99] These gold pieces, carrying the figure of *varāha*, have the legend *Śrī Vikrama*, besides a few other features.[100]

Monuments

Monuments are the best source for the cultural and religious history of the period. The Chālukyan monuments are confined to three centres, namely, Vāṭāpi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal, situated in the Bijapur district of Karnataka. A few early Chālukyan monuments are also found at Alampur and other places.[101] Several temples, associated with different gods and goddesses were erected during their rule by the members of the royal family.[102] Besides the Vaishṇava and Śaiva temples, we also find Jain ones and those of Āditya and Gaṇapati built during the paramountcy of the Early Chālukyas.[103] The tall and beautiful temples constructed in the period suggest the efflorescence of architecture, sculpture and painting under the Chālukyas, who were patrons of art and great builders. The cave temples at Badami were also excavated during their reign.[104] The Shidalphadi caves near Badami carry paintings of the period.[105] The sculptures engraved in the cave temples and images installed in shrines are helpful in determining the cultural tendencies of the period.

The Testimony of Hiuen-Tsang

During the reign of the famous Chālukya ruler Pulakeśin II, the Chinese pilgrim visited India in search of Buddhist gospels.[106] He has given a good account of the Chālukya ruler and the condition of his kingdom and people. His testimony is reliable, since it presents a faithful and objective picture of the time. The information about Pulakeśin's military forces given by the Chinese pilgrim is equally valuable. He refers to the gallant qualities and traditions of the Chālukyan army.[107] He further mentions that the people of Maharashtra were

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straightforward, learned, simple and benevolent and equally helpful, but could be rude to those who offended them.[108] He also refers to the fertility of the land accounting for the prosperity of the country.[109] He recalls that Śilāditya (Harsha) was the aggressor against Pulakeśin, the ruler of Maharashtra, and failed in his mission.[110] The Chinese pilgrim has, however, not referred to the different facets of Pulakeśin's personality.

Before summing up the nature of the source material, it may as well be mentioned that Tabari, the Persian historian, mentions Pulakeśin's diplomatic relations with his counterpart in Iran, namely, Khusru Perviz II.[111] Equally important is the evidence of Ma-twan-lin,[112] who furnishes information about Sino-South Indian relations during the reign of Vinayāditya and his son Vijayāditya, who are known from other sources to have maintained contacts with the east as well as with the western world.[113]

NOTES

1. Some scholars believe that the Chālukyas came to power after defeating the Kadambas. *DKD*, p. 343; *KTA*, p. 201; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 207; *HK*, p. 89.
2. *EI*, Vol. V, p. 6f.
3. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 10.
4. According to legends, Vāṭāpi and Ilvala were two demon brothers of the Daṇḍaka forest, who played tricks upon several sages and were finally destroyed by the sage Agastya. The city received the name after this demon. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 354; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 61 and p. 207, note 1; *HK*, p. 40.
5. *DKD*, p 335 and note 1.
6. *CA*, pp. 250-54; *EHD*, Vol. II, pp. 469-513.
7. *OC*, p. 97; *CG*, p. 5.
8. The Vākāṭakas ruled over the extensive area in Deccan and were contemporary to the Guptas in the North. Several inscriptions belonging to them have come to light from Mahārāshṭra and Madhya Pradesh. Their capital was Nandivardhana prior to the foundation of Pravarapura by Pravarasena II. Later on another branch was established at Vatsagulma, the present Basim in Akola district. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 151-88; *CII*, Vol. V, Introduction, p. 2f; वाकाटक नृपति आणित्यांचाकाल, डा. भिराशी, p. 1f; *CA*, pp. 177-88; *SEDSI*, pp. 158-69; *PIHC*, 1940, pp. 79-86.
9. The Nalas seem to have ruled over the Deccan before the advent of the Chālukyas as is evident from their inscriptions. In the beginning of the sixth century A D. they were holding sway over the Bastar-Jeypore region. They appear to

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have fought with the Vākāṭakas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi kings of Kośala in their bid to expand their territories During the time of Vikramāditya I and his successors, the Nalavāḍī *Vishaya* was included in the Chālukyan empire, which lay in the direction of Bellary and Karnul districts. It was probably named after the Nalas. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 100f; Vol. XXI, pp. 155f; *JBRS*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 33; *JNSI*, Vol. I, p. 29f; *DKD*, pp. 245 and 345; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *CA*, pp. 188-90.

10. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10.
11. The Mauryas were either descendants of the Mauryan governor in the Deccan or might be of a subclan of the Paramāras known as Morya or Maurya (*DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1154). They are also equated with Mori Rajputs. At the time of Pulakeśin's conquest towards the north-western regions, they were holding sway over Koṅkaṇa with their metropolis at Purī, the goddess of fortune of the western ocean. The Mauryas were defeated by Kīrtivarman I and his son Pulakeśin II stormed their capital. *DKD*, pp. 282-84; *CA*, pp. 158 and 161-62; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208.
12. *CA*, p. 201.
13. The Bhojas were a section of the Haihaya branch of the Yadu clan, according to the *Puranas*. A Bhojakaṭa-rāṣṭra is referred to in a Vākāṭaka record (*CII*, Vol. V) indicating that the Bhojas colonised in the Vidarbha region. A few records discovered in Goa territory point to the occupation of that region by the Bhojas in the fifth century A.D. This might be their another settlement in the Koṅkaṇa. *CA*, pp. 190-93; *ARG*, pp. 1-2; *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto V, v. 39.
14. *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 61-64; Vol. XXIV, p. 143f.
15. Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 61f; *ARG*, pp. 1-2; *CA*, p. 191.
16. *PAIOC*, 15th Session, p. 99; *CA*, p. 192, note 1.
17. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 337f.
18. Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 225f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 146f.
19. *CA*, p. 192.
20. Ibid., pp. 192-93.
21. The Sūra king Harirāja son of Nishṭhurarāja is known to us from the Banares Copper Plate Inscription. Another record from Sāñchi also seems to refer to a person of the same stock (*Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, p. 387). They were probably Vishayapatis under the Traikūṭas. After the fall of the Traikūṭas they were ruling in the Surat region. They were dislodged from there by the Kalachuris who lost the territory to the Chālukyas. *CA*, pp. 193-94.
22. *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9.
23. *CA*, pp. 194-97; कलचुरि नरेश और उनका काल, मिराशी, pp. 47-48; *CII*, Vol. IV, Intro., pp. 44-51.
24. Ibid., p. 194.
25. Ibid., pp. 194-95.
26. *CA*, pp. 198-202; *EHDB*, pp. 55-56.

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27. Undikavāṭikā Grant of Abhimanyu, *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 36-50; Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī Grant of Avidheya, *MASR*, 1929, p. 197f; Gokāk Plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dejja, *EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 289f; Hiṅgrī-Berḍī Grant, *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 174-77.
28. *CA*, pp. 199-200; *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, p. 42.
29. *CA*, pp. 200-201; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 249.
30. *CA*, pp. 201-02.
31. Ibid., p. 201.
32. *CA*, pp. 200 and 229.
33. A controversy exists about the chronology and the dynastic name of the Ānandas. Three rulers of this dynasty are known to us from their inscriptions, namely, Kandara, Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman. They are variously placed by scholars in the sixth and seventh centuries and in the period between A.D. 290 and 630. They appear to have been dislodged from power due to their constant struggles with the Pallavas. *CA*, pp. 202-04.
34. Several records belonging to the Śālaṅkāyanas have been discovered. All these were issued from Veṅgi, indicating that their territory lay in the Veṅgi region. The Hastivarman of Veṅgi defeated by Samudragupta was the Śālaṅkāyana king of the same name mentioned in the Peḍḍa-Vegi Grant. Nothing could be definitely stated about the decline of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It seems plausible that the Vishṇukuṇḍins subdued them in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. *CA*, pp. 204-06.
35. *CA*, p. 206.
36. The Vishṇukuṇḍins seem to have derived their name from their habitat Vinukoṇḍā in the Karnul district of A.P. Several coins belonging to them have come to light. Their chronology is a controversial matter. The earliest known king of this dynasty is Vikramahendra. The Vishṇukuṇḍin king Vikramendravarman II was defeated by Pulakeśin II and consequently the coastal land from Vizagapattam to Nellore seems to have been occupied by the Chālukyas. *CA*, pp. 206-11; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 215.
37. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 215; *HSI*, p. 149.
38. *CA*, p. 211; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 34.
39. A few records referring to the Pitṛbhaktas are available. These include the Tekkali Grant and Chicacole Grant, and mention rulers named Umāvarman, Chandravarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman. Their capital was at Siṁhapura. *CA*, p. 212.
40. The Māṭharas were ruling in Kaliṅga in close proximity to the Pitṛbhaktas, having their capital at Pithapuram. The inscriptions make it evident that they defeated and snatched the territory round Siṁhapura from the Pitṛbhaktas. A Māṭhara king named Ananta-Śakti-Varman is accorded the title of lord of Kaliṅga. *CA*, pp. 212-13.
41. Several records belonging to the Vāsishṭhas have come to light. On the joint testimony

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of their records, it seems reasonable to believe that they were ruling in central Kaliṅga, with their capital at Devarāshṭra in Vizagapattam district. Later on, they defeated the Māṭharas and occupied their territory. *CA*, pp. 213-14.

42. *CA*, pp. 214-17.
43. Ibid., pp. 217-23.
44. *CA*, p. 214.
45. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 34.
46. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11.
47. The epigraphs issued by the Sendrakas, Bāṇas, Sindas, the early Chālukyas of Lāṭa, the Pallavas of Kāñchi, the Kalachuris and the Rāshṭrakūṭas.
48. Gaekwad Series, Baroda.
49. *JMSI*, Vol. X, p. 442.
50. Raṇṇa completed his *Gadāyuddha* on Friday, 27th October, A.D. 982. *IA*, Vol. V, p. 78.
51. *JRAS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 19-23; *KTA*, pp. 364-65.
52. Appendix A.
53. Appendix A, Nos. 152-162.
54. *HPK*, pp. 163-214; Appendix A, No. 163f.
55. *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 201f.
56. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 17f.
57. *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 188f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 94f, Vol. XIX, p. 142f.
58. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 17f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 1f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f.
59. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 7-20; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
60. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4-9; *KI*, Vol. II, p. 4f.
61. *EI*, Vol. V, p. 6f.
62. Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 57-60.
63. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
64. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 7f; *BDCRI*, Vol. IX, p. 72f.
65. *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32f; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f.
66. *IA*, Vol. V, p. 67, Vol. VIII, p. 237; *ASWI*, Vol. III, p. 129; *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1f.
67. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 1, Vol. I, p. 2; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 60, Vol. VIII, p. 285f, Vol. VII, p. 112.
68. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 164-68.
69. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 359.
70. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 1.
71. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 251f.
72. *BDCRI*, Vol. IX, p. 75.
73. *ARSIE*, 1935-36, p. 24.
74. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 215f.
75. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 104f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 223f.
76. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 33 and 37.
77. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 7-20.
78. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 19; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 146f.
79. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
80. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1f.
81. "सविजयतां रविकीर्तिः कविताश्रितकालिदासभारविकीर्त्तिः", *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1f, v. 18.
82. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 7.
83. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 1f, note.
84. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 4.
85. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 4f.
86. *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto V, vv. 26-85.
87. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 16; *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto I, v. 4.
88. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 236f.
89. *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 30; *CA*, p. 228.
90. Luder's List No. 1123; *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1f.
91. *EHNI*, p. 169.
92. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 46f, Vol. XXVI, p. 244f.
93. *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 225f; *CII*,

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Vol. IV, p. 146f and 154f; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f, Vol. III, p. 1f; *EHD*, Vol. II, pp. 800-01.

94. शिवाचार्येण त्रिंशदमि गद्याणकै सुवर्णस्य क्रयदानादगृहीतानि, *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f.
95. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
96. *EHD*, Vol. II, p. 800f.
97. *CSI*, p. 67f, Nos. 19-23; *MASR*, 1933, p. 198, 1941, p. 108.
98. *SIC*, p. 19f; Sewell, *IA*, Vol. XXXII, p. 313.
99. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 46.
100. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 224, Vol. XXVII, p. 46.
101. Rama Rao, M., *Early Chālukya Temples of Andhra Pradesh*, pp. 1-28.
102. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 241.
103. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 112, Vol. VII, p, 104; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 11f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
104. *MASI*, No. 26, p. 1f; *CA*, p. 546.
105. *IAR*, 1955-56, p. 31, 1959-60, p. 43.
106. Beal, *Siyuki*, Vol. II, pp. 255-59; Beal, *Life*, pp. 146-47; Watters, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239f.
107. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 256; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
108. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 257; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
109. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 255.
110. *Life*, p. 147; *Siyuki*, Vol. II, pp. 256-57.
111. *FNSI*, p. 9; *Ajanta*, Pt. I, p. 46f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 217.
112. *JRASB*, Vol. VI, p. 63f.
113. *IDRE*, pp. 197-201.

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II

The Origin and Early History

The Origin

THE question of the origin of the Chālukyas is still mysterious and controversial.[1] In spite of the availability of a considerable number of inscriptions of the different branches and dynasties of the aforesaid ruling house, we are not in a position to be positive on this point. The available material at our disposal—both epigraphic and literary—fails to provide any clear answer to the positive question of their origin and homeland. The information given by the Kashmiri author Bilhaṇa, the Kannaḍa poet Raṇṇa, and the authors of Tamil lexicons on this subject is equally inconclusive.[2] In fact, the origin of all the ruling families of Mediaeval India could not be precisely determined, though they all trace their ancestry from the heroes of the epics.[3]

The main reason for this controversy is the absence of any reference to the original home of the Chālukyas in their records. The stories, fanciful and contradictory in nature, add to the confusion in this respect. It becomes equally uncertain whether the Chālukyas could trace their ancestry to the lunar or the solar family.[4] Now in the light of these observations, it may be worthwhile studying the entire available evidence *de novo*.

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The Family Name Chālukya and its Variants

The family name *Chālukya* is variously spelt in the inscriptions of the several Chālukyan ruling families. The dynastic records of the Badami house call it *Chalkya*, *Chalikya* and *Chalukya* and the later ones *Chālukya* or *Chāḷukya*.[5] The common designation is, however, *Chalukya* which has given rise to the form Chaulukya in the records of the Aṇahilavāḍa family, which seems to have derived its origin from the name Chulukya mentioned for the first time in the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa of the Lāṭa branch dated Śaka 613.[6] The records of the Chālukyas of Veṅgi, Kalyāṇī and Vemulavāḍa prefer the term *Chālukya* or *Chalukya*.[7] The Lohner Plates of the time of Pulakeśin II refer to the family name as *Chulukiki*,[8] while the Karnul Plates of Vikramāditya I mention *Chalekya*.[9] A set of Copper Plates of Vijayāditya mentions another variant *Chaḷikya*.[10] There is also another variation of the family name in the Kurtākoṭi Inscription as *Chalukhya*.[11] We also notice another variant *Chirikya* in one of the records.[12]

According to Fleet, *Chalkya* is the original family name.[13] This was acceptable to Dr. D.C. Sircar since it occurs in the Badami Inscription of Śaka 500.[14] In the earliest dated record of the Chālukyas, however, it appears as *Chalikya*.[15] According to Bhandarkar and Indraji, *Chalukya* was some vernacular form which was later sanskritised into various forms.[16] R.S. Satyāśraya, however, asserts that the word which is said to have undergone sanskritisation according to the above referred scholars is more sanskritic in base.[17] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, however, suggests that the term *Chalkya* was the original form and with the insertion of an euphonic vowel, it became Chalukya which was later on embellished to Chālukya and Chaulukya.[18] In this connection, Sircar proposes that the original name of the ancestor of the family was either *Chalka*, *Chalika* or *Chaluka*.[19] It may, however, be mentioned here that the original term appears to have been *Chalka* and all the variants can be derived from it.

Antiquity of the Term

Besides the earlier reference to the family name in the

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Badami Inscription of Vallabheśvara of Śaka 465,[20] the term also occurs in a Nagarjunakonda Inscription. It refers to Khaṁdi-Chalika Remmaṇaka, i.e, Remmaṇaka son of Khaṁda-Chalika who was Mahāsenāpati and Mahātalavara under the Ikshvāku ruler Vīrapurisadāta.[21] He is the earliest Chālukyan chieftain known to history. It is tempting to link him with the Chālukya family, but since he is described as Vāsishṭhīputra[22] and not as Hāritīputra,[23] the relation cannot be accepted. This record is assigned to the second century A.D.[24] The antiquity of the family could be traced further ahead as early as the second century B.C., as is evident from an inscription from Karle.[25] It refers to the *Chulayakha* of *Dhenukākaṭa*. It indicates that the homeland of the Chālukyas was in the Deccan before the dawn of the Christian era.[26] This is the earliest reference to the Chālukyas which had not been noticed so far. The later references beginning from the Badami Cliff Inscription are too well known to be recorded on the question of the antiquity of this term. The discussion now shifts to the origin of the Chālukyas as such: whether they were indigenous people or foreigners;[27] if the latter, why are they associated with the Deccan, and if they were Indians, why is their origin traced to some mythological legends and associated with Ayodhya in the North and not in the Deccan, where their inscriptions are found? These points have to be properly studied before we can approach anything definite on this point.

Nationality of the Chālukyas

The Badami Inscription of Śaka 500 records the family legend for the first time.[28] It describes them as Hāritīputras belonging to *mānavya* gotra, who were brought up by the seven mothers. They attained fame and property with the favour and protection of lord Kārttikeya and were successful in subjugating other princely families. The family crest *Varāha* no doubt associates them with the god Vishṇu, who is venerated in several Chālukyan records in the opening verses.[29] The same description is also reported in the early Chālukyan epigraphs with a few minor variations. In spite of their clear assertion, there are still scholars who doubt their native character and consider them to be foreigners.[30] Besides A.M.T., Jackson and James Campbell

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were the earliest supporters of the foreign origin of the Chālukyas. The latter too associated them with the Rajput clan and the *agnikula* traditions. D.R. Bhandarkar in his paper on "Foreign Elements in Hindu Population", however, associated them with the Gurjaras and accorded to both of them the status of foreigners who were later on assimilated in the Hindu socio-religious order.[31] He was supported by Hoernle.[32]

Chālukyas and Gurjaras

According to Bhandarkar, as Gujarat, the centre of the activities of Chālukyas, was known as Gurjaratra and not Lāṭa, the earlier name, the change in nomenclature signifies the association of the ruling dynasty with the Gurjaras after whom this part of the country was so called. The foreign origin of the Gurjaras itself is a matter of conjecture[33] now and the mere fact that Chālukyas ruled over that part of the country formerly known as Lāṭa and taken as Gurjaratra or Gujarat did not imply that the Chālukyas did not make any change in the nomenclature because of their close association with the region.

Legendary Traditions

The later Chālukyan records appear to be thoroughly confused in narrating their origin. According to the Handarike Inscription of Vikramāditya VI, the Chālukyas were born in the interior of the Chuluka of the sage Hāritī Pañchaśikha when he was pouring out the libation to the gods.[34] According to another version of the Kalyāṇī family, the records trace their descent from Manu through Mānavya and Hāritī to Chālukya.[35] According to the third version, their origin is traced from Brahmā or Moon. In the Kauthem Grant, it is narrated that 59 kings ruled at Ayodhya. After them 16 kings ruled over Dakshiṇāpatha, followed by the break and restoration under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī.[36] The Chālukyan inscriptions of Veṅgi give yet another comprehensive version. It includes Brahmā, Moon, 59 emperors of Ayodhya with Udayana, then comes Vijayāditya, who went on an expedition to the South and lost his life in battle to Trilochan Pallava. His widowed queen gave birth to a posthumous son named Vishṇuvardhana who was

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given refuge by Brāhmaṇa Vishṇubhaṭṭa Somayāji Mudivenu. Vishṇuvardhana worshipped Gaurī, the goddess of the Chālukya hill, and by her grace regained the royal insignia and established his rule in Dakshiṇāpatha.[37] It is proposed by D.C. Sircar that the Mānavya gotra and the mention of the Hāritīputra associated with god Kārttikeya and the seven mothers were borrowed from the Kadambas and point to an early success of the family against the Kadambas.[38] Though this point is hardly relevant to the study of the term Chālukya, the relationship with the Kadambas by way of early conquest could at least point to their location in the Deccan rather than in any region in the North, which was mooted on the basis of the inscriptions of the later Chālukyas.[39]

Bardic Tales

Reference might as well be made to the traditional accounts based on bardic tales and also recorded in some inscriptions. As such, the Chālukyan traditions noticed earlier are also recorded in the inscriptions of the time of Kumārapala.[40] According to Vaḍnagar *Praśasti*, the hero who protected the gods against the sons of Danu was produced from the *Chuluka* filled with holy water of the Ganga.[41] The race springing from him came to be known as Chaulukyas.[42] The same story is also repeated by Abhaya Tilaka Gaṇi, the commentator of *Dvyaśraya Kāvya* and also repeated by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*.[43] A different version of the story is given by Jayasiṁha Surī, who in his *Kumārapāla-Charita* traces the origin of the race to the Chālukya, who was a great and virtuous warrior, destroying countless enemies, and hence the race emerging from them is known as Chaulukya.[44]

Bilhaṇa, the Kashmiri poet, in his *Vikramāṅkadeva-Charita*, mentions that once during his meditation, Brahmā was requested by Indra to produce a warrior who could put an end to the godlessness in the world and punish the wicked.[45] One such was created by the water of his *Chuluka* whose family thus came to be known as the Chālukyas. *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya* also refers to the Chālukya giri where the earlier ancestors of the Chālukyas worshipped Gaurī.

The bardic accounts recording the Agnikula tradition trace

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their origin from the fire pit (*Agnikuṇḍa*) along with the Paramaras, Pratiharas and Chahamanas.[46] This story is no doubt accepted by the majority of scholars for the origin of the Rajputs but this definitely cannot be true in the case of the *Chālukyas*. The reference to the *Chālukyas* or the *Chulikyas* in association with Rajput families, however, needs fresh thinking for the simple reason that the *Chālukyas* could be traced as early as the second century B.C. when there could hardly be any possibility of such a purification rite, as is evident from their *Agnikula* association.

Testimony of Hiuen-Tsang

The Chinese pilgrim who visited the greatest Chālukyan monarch Pulakeśin II makes certain statements which are helpful in this direction. He calls Pulakeśin II a Kshatriya by birth and describes him as the ruler of Mo-ho-la-cha, i.e., *Mahārāshṭra*. The total picture as deduced from the testimony of Hiuen-Tsang leaves hardly any doubt that Pulakeśin felt pride over the warrior-like qualities of the people of Mahārāshṭra,[47] who obeyed him perfectly. Thus, it is evident that much before the beginning of the gap of legends about the fanciful stories of the Chālukyas of the royal family, Pulakeśin II was known as a Kshatriya—a fact eloquently recorded by the Chinese pilgrim.[48]

Chulikas, Śulikas and Sogdians

It is suggested by some scholars that the word *Chālukya* is derived from *Chulika* or *Śulika*.[49] The Purāṇas also refer to *Chulikas*, *Śulikas* and *Chuḍikas*.[50] A few inscriptions also refer to them.[51] Pargiter identified them with the Sogdians.[52] Raychaudhuri suggests that the Śulikas were the Chālukyas.[53] Chakravarty also connects them with the Eastern Chālukyas.[54] However, B.C. Majumdar doubts the identification.[55] Later on, R.D. Banerjee also endorsed the views of Majumdar.[56] R.S. Satyasraya has shown that the Śulikas were not connected with the Chālukyas.[57] Nandimatha suggests that the original dynastic name was *Chalukī*, *Chalki*, *Śaluki* or *Śalkī*,[58] a Kannaḍa term for an agricultural instrument resembling a crowbar.[59] The

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earliest ancestor of the family may have taken this term as a proper personal name, as is even common now-a-days in Karṇāṭaka. Nandimatha further asserts that we find people whose proper name is Salkeppa, i.e., appa (ārya) added to *Śalkī*.[60] Thus, originally, the Chālukyas may have been an agricultural folk, but later on they became powerful and after obtaining sovereignty, stories were invented to give them Pauranic and legendary origin. This is no doubt convincing but there is no solid evidence to prove it. As Pañchaśikha, a legendary ancestor of the Chālukyas mentioned in the later Chālukya epigraphs, is also known as Chuluka, it does not appear to be beyond the bounds of possibility.[61]

The vast information available from the literature of the tenth to the twelfth centuries and epigraphic data furnished from the records of the later Chālukyas, it is not possible to arrive at any tentative conclusion. The importance of it is reduced by the mere fact that the whole material belongs to an age peculiar to such fanciful stories. It is also not reliable on account of its late date as well as absence of any reference to them in the early Chālukyan records. It appears that the origin of the family was variously interpreted due to the ignorance of the real significance and this led to the present state of affairs.

It seems plausible to believe that the name either originated from the earliest ancestor or from a locality or it may be suggestive of their profession. As even today, surnames are derived from localities in Mahārāshṭra and Karṇāṭaka, it may be proposed that the Chālukyas received their name from the country of their residence. We have, therefore, to look to some geographical association of this name. As so many families and subcastes trace their origin to geographical associations, the same may be said about the *Chālukyas* as well. Curiously enough, we have references to villages situated in *Chālukya Vishaya*, as is evident from the Tummeyanūru and Kasar-Sirasi Plates.[62] Dr. Kolte, who had edited the Kasar-Sirasi Plates, locates the *Challukideśa* in the area falling in Bidar and Osmanabad districts on the basis of the geographical data furnished by the Kasar-Sirasi Plates.[63] He had also located a village named *Chalkapur* in the same area where also flows a river named *Chulki*.[64] However, Ramesan locates *Chālukya vishaya* of the Tummeyanūru Plates in a part of the Rayala-

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seema district.[65] Both the above-mentioned identifications locate the Chālukyas on the area where the borders of Karṇāṭaka, Mahārāshṭra and Andhra Pradesh meet. The later Chālukyan records also refer to a *Chālukya* mountain where their earliest ancestors worshipped Goddess Gaurī.[66] Moreover, we also find references about the river *Chuluka* in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Ādipurāṇa*.[67]

Thus, it may be suggested that the Chālukyas belonged to the region known as Challukideśa. There will be hardly any difficulty to trace their connection with Nagarjunakonda, Dhenukākaṭa, Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāshṭra, if we accept this place as their original habitat for deriving their family name. This may not be the final verdict but it is worth considering.

Original Home

As regards the original home of the Chālukyas, we are also not in a position to say anything positive on this point.[68] The later Chālukyan records narrate that their original seat was in Ayodhya which is untenable and lacks evidence. As regards their connection with Rajputana, as may be seen from the Agnikula legend,[69] it may be said that there is no doubt that we find the Chālukyan chieftains ruling in the area in close proximity to Rajasthan but we do not get evidence to trace any of their settlements in Rajputana prior to the establishment of the Lāṭa branch of the Chālukyas of Badami. Their association with Rajputana and Gujarat is based on their association with the kingdom of Lāṭa. In view of the antiquity of their relations with Mahārāshṭra and Karṇāṭaka, this view based on tales need not be given any weightage.

The Chālukyas most probably were residents of trans-Vindhyan India. Hiuen-Tsang calls Pulakeśin II the ruler of Mo-ho-lo-cha, i.e., Mahārāshṭra.[70] The Samangarh Plates describe the army of Vallabha as the Karṇāṭakabala which won victory over several rulers including Harsha and Vajraṭa.[71] The Chālukyan records are mostly found from Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāshṭra. Even now several families calling themselves Chālukyas reside in Mahārāshṭra, Madhya Pradesh and Karṇāṭaka, the area under the rule of the Chālukyas. If we accept the identification of the Chālukya vishaya and deśa, proposed

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above, it also falls in the same region. Thus the Chālukyan homeland was somewhere on the border between Mahārāshṭra and Karṇāṭaka.

Sircar, Desai and others believe that the Chālukyas were the Kannada people who came into prominence in the beginning of the sixth century A.D., while Vaidya proposes to equate them with the present Chalke, a caste name sounding quite identical to the Chālukyas, who were Mahārāshṭrians.[72] As already indicated, their original home was in the region on the borders of Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāshṭra, though their metropolis was situated in the Kannada area. Their earliest settlement of Dhenukākaṭa falls in Mahārāshṭra but their association with the Ikshvaku rulers brings them to Andhra. The term Mahārāshṭra as used by Ravikīrtti consisted of three divisions (namely, Karṇāṭa, Koṅkaṇa and Mahārāshṭra); it might be the original word which Hiuen-Tsang had taken down and this provides a solution to the problem.[73] As Karṇāṭa and Kuntala are said to be parts of the three Mahārāshṭras of the Aihole *Praśasti*,[74] so it might be inferred that the reference to Mahārāshṭra includes the Karṇāṭaka area. Thus, it is apparent that the word Karṇāṭaka referred to in the Samangarh Plates need not be taken in a narrow sense but as emphasising the warrior-like quality of the people of Karṇāṭaka ruled by the Chālukyas. Therefore, the Chālukyas originally belonged to the Deccan and we notice their association with both present Mahārāshṭra and Karṇāṭaka. Thus, their original home was somewhere in the area comprising the present districts of Bidar and Osmanabad.

Early Rulers

Jayasiṁha

The early official Chālukya records suggest that Jayasiṁha was the first ruler of this dynasty. He is also called *Jayasiṁha Vallabha*, *Śrīvallabha* and *Vallabhendra* in the family records.[75] No epigraph belonging to him or his son has hitherto come to light. The non-attribution of any imperial titles to Jayasiṁha in the early records of the family appears to indicate that he was a feudatory of some paramount sovereign. Fleet proposed that he was a vassal of the Kadamba rulers of Banavāsī.[76]

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Nandimatha, too, upholds that he may have held military or executive office under the Kadambas.[77] He is treated as a petty chief ruling under the Kadambas, whose traditions were followed even by his successors.[78]

There is some stylistic similarity in the epigraphs and coins of early Kadambas and the Chālukyas of Baḍami,[79] but it hardly warrants the inference that the latter came to power as feudatories of the former, as has been suggested by some scholars.[80] The history of the reign of Jayasiṁha is shrouded in mystery. The early records of the Chālukyas hardly say anything concerning his achievements. The later Chālukya records do speak about a few military exploits of Jayasiṁha.[81] Though highly eulogistic, the statements of the later Chālukya records deserve closer scrutiny. According to the Daulatabad Plates of Jagadekamalla, Jayasiṁha, the founder of the house of the Chālukyas, was the destroyer of the pomp of the Kadambas.[82] Moraes doubts these victories of Jayasiṁha on the ground that a fortunate soldier like him (Jayasiṁha) could not rout the contemporary Kadamba rulers of the repute of Mṛgeśa and Ravivarmā, who defeated the Pallavas and the Gaṅgas time and again.[83] But a closer study of the political condition of the Deccan in the sixth century A.D. gives ground to believe the statement of the Daulatabad Plates, as the following would show.

The Kauthem and several other later Chālukya records credit Jayasiṁha, the founder of Chālukya sovereignty, with victory over the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Indra, son of Kṛshṇa.[84] Further, the Kannada poet Raṇṇa also maintains that Jayasiṁha defeated the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[85] However, some scholars are not inclined to accept this as a part of sober history, as no Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler bearing these two names is to be traced in the genealogical tables of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas. The references to the glorious acts of Jayasiṁha are treated as echoes of the subsequent Rāshṭrakūṭa defeat at the hands of Taila II.[86] The Rāshṭrakūṭa referred to above may have been a member of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Mānapura holding sway over the Satara-Kolhapur and adjoining regions at the beginning of the sixth century A.D., as is evident from their records.[87] The Undikavāṭikā Grant of Rāshṭrakūṭa Abhimanyu refers to a Jayasiṁha.[88] The Grant states that king Abhimanyu granted the village of Undikavāṭikā to the Śaiva ascetic Jaṭābhāra in the presence of

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Jayasiṁha, the commander of the fort of Harivatsa.[89] This Jayasiṁha of the above Grant may be identical w th his namesake of the early Chālukyan records.[90] Scholars have assigned the above record to the sixth century A.D. on the basis of a study of its characters.[91] Chronological problems do not stand in the way of accepting this suggestion.

If the above suggestion is accepted, the Chālukyas under Jayasiṁha came to power as the feudatory of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Rāshṭrakūṭa capital was somewhere in the Southern Maratha country, as might be evident from the Chālukyan epigraphs.[92] The Aihole *Praśasti* of Pulakeśin II states that Āppāyika and Govinda, his two adversaries, had advanced as far as the northern bank of Bhīmarathī, i.e., modern Bhīmā.[93] Āppāyika and Govinda appear to have been of the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage[94] and may be the offshoots of the family of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Abhimanyu, whom Jayasiṁha served as his commander. It would have been quite natural for them to fish in the troubled waters of the prevailing confusion and re-establish Rāshṭrakūṭa power.

The Chālukyas at this time were passing through a state of civil war between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II,[95] which makes the advance of the above-mentioned kings more likely. Their advance upto the northern bank of the river Bhīmā[96] suggests that their seat was somewhere in the Southern Maratha country. This supports the earlier presumption that both belonged to the Abhimanyu family ruling over the regions adjoining Kolhapur and Satara at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. During the reigns of Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II, the Rāshṭrakūṭa subordinates figure in the Chālukyan grants found in the above-referred region.[97] It is an additional evidence to prove the Rāshṭrakūṭa-Chālukya relationship in the earlier stages of the Chālukyan history.

There is no evidence whatsoever that the Chālukyas rose to prominence after defeating the early Rāshṭrakūṭas in a direct conflict. They appear to have wrested power from the early Rāshṭrakūṭas gradually, when the latter were engaged in wars with their neighbours, i.e., the Nalas and the Mauryas.[98] There is every reason to believe that Jayasiṁha Vallabha, as a high official of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas, declared his sovereignty over some parts of the kingdom of his overlord, when the Rāshṭra-

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kūṭas were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with their designing neighbours. Thus, taking advantage of the situation, Jayasiṁha acquired a small kingdom round about modern Bijapur,[99] without coming into direct conflict with his masters. Deprived of possible help and succour they could have received from their subordinate Chālukya feudatory, the early Rāshṭrakūṭas were vanquished by the Mauryas and the Nalas. Sircar appears to be correct in his surmise that the early Rāshṭrakūṭas were overthrown by their neighbours, namely, the Nalas and the Mauryas, who were themselves overthrown by the early Chālukyas.[100]

It would thus appear that the Chālukyas first got hold of the territory around modern Bijapur and were subsequently able to come in possession of the territories of their overlord from the Nalas and the Mauryas who had been responsible for the downfall of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas.[101] This is indirectly supported by the Daulatabad Grant of Jagadekamalla wherein Jayasiṁha is described as the destroyer of the pomp of the Kadambas.[102] The above Grant refers to the victory of Jayasiṁha over the Kadambas in unmistakable terms;[103] it could not be taken as a mere rodomontade. Two alternatives could as well be suggested in this connection. The first possibility is that the Kadambas tried to overwhelm the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the latter were able to ward off their attack with the help of Jayasiṁha, who at that time was a faithful ally of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and claims all credit for this successful defence of his master's domain. The second suggestion entails consideration of the prevailing conditions after the discomfiture of the Rāshṭrakūṭas at the hands of the Nalas and the Mauryas. It is possible that the Kadambas, too, tried to take advantage of the situation at the cost of the already weakened Rāshṭrakūṭas. By that time, Jayasiṁha had already assumed independence and successfully withstood the Kadamba onslaught. Both these possibilities rule out any subservience of the early Chālukyas to the Kadambas, as has tentatively been suggested by some scholars.[104] The confused account of the later Chālukyan records, in which a certain Vishṇuvardhana gained victory over the Kadambas, seems to have been a mere echo of the achievements of Jayasiṁha.[105]

Jayasiṁha started his career as a feudatory of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas and taking advantage of the time and his high

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Raṇarāga

Jayasiṁha was succeeded by his son and successor Raṇarāga.[107] The Kannada poet Raṇṇa refers to him as Raṇarāgasiṁha.[108] We do not find any conquests credited to him in the early records of the dynasty. But the Yevur Tablet Inscription of the time of the later Chālukyas describes him as a prince of great valour having a stately and gigantic personality.[109] This seems to suggest that like his father, he was holding sway over the small territory in the neighbourhood of Bijapur in Karṇāṭaka. Since nothing particular is credited to him in the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa and the Aihole *Praśasti*,[110] it may be proposed that he devoted his time in stabilising the newly established dynasty for the next twenty years. He seems to have ruled between A.D. 520 and A.D. 540 on the basis of the Badami Cliff Inscription of Śaka year 465.[111]

NOTES

1. *DKD*, pp. 336-42; *HK*, p. 90; *CA*, pp. 228-31; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 206; *EHDB*, p. 57; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 19; *Origin of the Chālukyas*, p. 1; *PIHC*, III, pp. 386-410.
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3. *Origin of the Chālukyas*, pp. 56, 57; *PIHC*, III, p. 386f.
4. *Origin of the Chālukyas*, pp. 56, 57; *PIHC*, III, p. 386f.
5. Ibid., pp. 62-64.
6. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 205.
7. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
8. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 244f; *CPIA-*

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PGM, Vol. I, p. 84; *JAHRS*, Vol. VI, p. 169f.
9. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f.
10. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 225.
11. *SII*, Vol. XI, p. 2.
12. *Origin of the Chālukyas*, p. 62.
13. *DKD*, p. 336, note 3.
14. *CA*, p. 227; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57.
15. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f.
16. *BG*, Vol. I, pp. 180, note 1 and 156.
17. *Origin of the Chālukyas*, p. 62f.
18. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 204.
19. *CA*, p. 227.
20. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f.
21. Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 18; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 204; *CA*, p. 228; *HK*, p. 90.
22. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 18; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 204; *CA*, p. 228.
23. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57; *DKD*, p. 337; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 205; *CA*, p. 228; *HK*, p. 91.
24. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 18.
25. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 327, No. 6.
26. Karle Inscriptions are assigned to the second century B.C. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 327.
27. *BC*, Vol. IX, p 483; *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 7; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXI, p. 413.
28. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f.
29. Ibid., Vol. X, p. 57f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 205; *CA*, p. 228; *HK*, p. 91; *DKD*, p. 337.
30. *BG*, Vol. IX, p. 483; *IA*, Vol. XL, p. 7; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXI, p. 413; *CG*, pp. 9-10; *Origin of the Chālukyas*, p. 56f.
31. *IA*, Vol. XL, pp. 70-73; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXI, p. 425.
32. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 1f.
33. *HGP*, pp. 2-6; *JDL*, Vol. X, p. 6; *IHQ*, Vol. VIII, pp. 21-22; *HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 81-82; *Origin of the Chālukyas*, pp. 9-10.
34. *CA*, p. 228; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 296.
35. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 26 and 318; *HK*, p. 90.
36. *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15-24; *HK*, p. 90.
37. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 206; *CA*, p. 230.
38. *CA*, p. 228; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 205.
39. *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15-24; *PIHC*, III, p. 386f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 206; *CA*, pp. 228 and 30; *VSMV*, 1966, pp. 19-20; *HK*, 90.
40. *CG*, p. 6; *Origin of the Chālukyas*, pp. 107-08.
41. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 301f; *CG*, p. 6.
42. Ibid.
43. *CG*, p. 6.
44. Ibid., p. 7.
45. *Vikramāṅkadeva Charita*, Chapter I; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 206; *CA*, p. 228; *HK*, p. 90; *Origin of the Chālukyas*, pp. 9-10.
46. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239; *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256; *Life*, p. 146.
47. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239f; *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 218; *CA*, p. 239.
48. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 256.
49. *CG*, pp. 14-15; *Origin of the Chālukyas*, pp. 40-49; *JDL*, Vol. XXI, p. 11.
50. *CG*, p. 15; *Origin of the Chālukyas*, p. 42.
51. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 110, Vol. III, p. 54; *JBORS*, Vol. VIII, p. 84.
52. *EI*, XXIX, p. 18.
53. *JRAS*, 1912, p. 712.
54. *PHAI*, pp. 381, 405-06.
55. *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, p. 123f.
56. *Origin of the Chālukyas*, p. 47.
57. Ibid.; *KTA*, p. 198.
58. Ibid.

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7. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
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PGM, Vol. I, p. 84; *JAHRS*, Vol. VI, p. 169f.
9. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f.
10. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 225.
11. *SII*, Vol. XI, p. 2.
12. *Origin of the Chālukyas*, p. 62.
13. *DKD*, p. 336, note 3.
14. *CA*, p. 227; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57.
15. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f.
16. *BG*, Vol. I, pp. 180, note 1 and 156.
17. *Origin of the Chālukyas*, p. 62f.
18. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 204.
19. *CA*, p. 227.
20. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f.
21. Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 18; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 204; *CA*, p. 228; *HK*, p. 90.
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56. *Origin of the Chālukyas*, p. 47.
57. Ibid.; *KTA*, p. 198.
58. Ibid.

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59. *KTA*, p. 198.
60. *Eastern Chālukyas* (Venkataramanayya), p. 8; *KTA*, p. 198.
61. *Origin of the Chālukyas*, pp. 55 and 60.
62. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 45; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 35.
63. *VSMV*, 1966, pp. 19-20.
64. Ibid., p. 20.
65. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 43.
66. *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 305, Vol. VI, pp. 337 and 352.
67. *Origin of the Early Chālukyas*, p. 66.
68. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 206; *CA*, pp. 228-30.
69. Ibid.
70. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
71. *SKH*, Vol. I, p. 58.
72. *HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 258-59.
73. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 256.
74. *CA*, p. 238; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 36.
75. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8; *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 16 and 18; *CA*, p. 229.
76. *DKD* (*BG*, Vol. I), p. 343.
77. *KTA*, p. 200; *HK*, p. 92.
78. *HK*, p. 92; *CA*, p. 238.
79. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 205; *CA*, p. 238; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 21.
80. *KK*, p. 33, note 3; *DKD*, p. 343; *HK*, p. 92.
81. *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 161f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 84.
82. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 2, p. 4.
83. *KK*, p. 33, note 3.
84. *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 15f; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 11f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 76.
85. *Gadāyuddha*, Ch. I, Prose para after verse No. 52 as quoted in *KTA*, p. 200.
86. *HK*, p. 92; *KTA*, p. 200; *CA*, pp. 229-31; *DKD*, p. 342; *AHD*, p. 11.
87. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 36f; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 63f, Vol. XXI, p. 197; *MASR*, 1929, p. 197; *EI*, Vol. XXIX, p. 289; *SEDSI*, 182f; *CA*, p. 229.
88. *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 63f; *CA*, pp. 200-201.
89. Ibid.
90. *CA*, p. 229; *PIHC*, 1969, pp. 61-62.
91. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 36f; *CA*, p. 200.
92. *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, p. 42; *SEDSI*, pp. 184-85.
93. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9.
94. *DKD*, p. 350, note 2; *EHDB*, p. 60; *CA*, p. 235.
95. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9; *DKD*, p. 349; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 211; *CA*, p. 234; *HK*, p. 95; *KTA*, p. 202; *HSI*, p. 148.
96. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9f.
97. *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 125f.
98. *CA*, pp. 200-201.
99. *JOHR*, Vol. XV, No. 3, p. 3.
100. *CA*, pp. 200-201, 229. Dr. B.K. Singh, however, does not accept it. *PIHC*, 1969, pp. 61-62.
101. Ibid.
102. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 2, p. 4.
103. Ibid.; *KK*, p. 33, note 3.
104. *DKD*, p. 342; *KK*, pp. vii (Preface), 33, note 3; *HK*, p. 92; *CA*, p. 273; *KTA*, p. 200.
105. *CA*, p. 231; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 84.
106. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f; *KI*, Vol. II, p. 4f; *SI*, p. 482.
107. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.
108. *KTA*, p. 200.
109. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 11f.
110. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 7-20; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
111. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f; *SI*, p. 482.

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III

The Foundation of the Dynasty

Emergence of the Chālukya Power—Pulakeśin I

THE Chālukyas came into the limelight with the accession of Pulakeśin I, the son and successor of Raṇarāga. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of his son Maṅgaleśa described him as *priyatanuja* of Raṇarāga.[1] Since the early Chālukyan records furnish this piece of information, the account of the later Chālukyan epigraphs—in which a certain Vijayāditya is introduced as the father of Pulakeśin I—need not be given any serious consideration nor should any importance be attached to the other legends associated with them in the Chālukyan records.[2]

The name Pulakeśin appears variously in the dynastic records as Polekeśin,[3] Polikeśin[4] and Pulikeśin.[5] Fleet and following him Sircar suggest that the word was a hybrid of Kannada and Sanskrit meaning "tiger-haired".[6] Sastri, however, treats both the parts of the name as derived from Sanskrit.[7] According to him, the first half of the word is connected with the root '*Pula*' or '*Pola*', meaning to be great, while '*Keśin*' means a lion. So the word Pulakeśin or Polekeśin means "the great lion".[8] The word Pulakeśin seems to be the Sanskrit word variously mentioned in the records as Polekeśin, Pulikeśin and Polikeśin due to the linguistic influence of the Kannada region.

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The family records confer on him the titles of *Satyāśraya* (abode of truth), *Raṇavikrama* (the valorous in war), *Vallabha*, *Vallabharāja*, *Śrīvallabha* and *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha*[9] [i.e., husband or favourite of Śrī (Lakshmī) and the Earth]. The title '*Vallabha*' or '*Vallabheśvara*' means the supreme lord, which indicated paramountcy.[10] Actually, *Vallabha* or *Śrīvallabha* is the abbreviation of the title *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha* which has been adopted by all the Chālukyan rulers equating themselves with Lord Vishṇu, the husband of the goddess of fortune and the earth. It imparted such a dignity that it is often substituted for the names of the Chālukya emperors.[11] The Rāshṭrakūṭas, who replaced the Chālukyas, adopted it to glorify themselves.[12] Pulakeśin I is also credited with the regal title of *Mahārāja* in the records of his successors.

In addition to the above-mentioned titles, this Chālukyan ruler was also bestowed with a few military and religious epithets. The Altem Plates credit him with the *viruda* of *Rājasiṁha*, i.e., lion among kings.[13] The Satara Copper Plate Inscription of Vishṇuvardhana and the Goḍachi Plates of Katti-arasa bestow upon him the epithet of *Raṇavikrama*—valorous in war.[14] Besides these military epithets, he is also accorded a religious title. The Goḍachi Plates of Katti-arasa accord to him the title of *Dharmamahārāja*, besides the above-mentioned title of *Raṇavikrama*.[15] This epithet is significant because this is the only record, where a Chālukyan king is given this title. Prof. Sastri is of opinion that this title indicated the ruler's active promotion of Vedic *dharma* against Jainism and Buddhism.[16] It could definitely be said on the basis of the dynastic records and the titles conferred upon him that he was the first sovereign ruler and the real founder of the dynasty.

With the reign of Pulakeśin I, we start finding records relating to the ruling monarchs, which help us to determine their dates and important events occurring during their time in chronological order. There are at least three epigraphs associated with his period. The first epigraph is the Badami Rock Inscription of Vallabheśvara, which is the first inscription of the Chālukyas dated in the Śaka era.[17] According to this record, Pulakeśin I (Vallabheśvara) was the ruler of Badami and its surrounding regions in the Śaka year 465, i.e., A.D. 543.[18] Evi-

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dently, his reign must have commenced prior to that year (Śaka 465=A.D. 543), as such he may have ascended the throne about A.D. 540. The next record is the Aminabhāvī Stone Tablet Inscription dated in the Śaka year 488 (expired), which states that *Satyāśraya*, i.e., Pulakeśin I, made certain grants to god Kalideva of Aminabhāvī[19] on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new moon day of the month of *Vaiśākha*, of the Sarvajīta *Saṁvatsara*, falling in the Śaka year 488 (expired). The record is considered to be spurious by some scholars,[20] but the discovery of the Badami Inscription of the Śaka year 465[21] and another Badami Inscription of the time of king Kīrttivarman dated in the Śaka year 500, lend authenticity to the epigraph in question.[22] It is evident from the Aminabhāvī Inscription that Pulakeśin I ruled upto the Śaka year 488 (expired), i.e., 489 Śaka year (current).[23] According to the Badami Inscription of Śaka year 500, the 12th regnal year of Kīrttivarman I, the son and successor of Pulakeśin I, corresponded to the Śaka year 500.[24] It would thus appear that Kīrttivarman's reign commenced somewhere in the Śaka year 489, i.e., A.D. 567. Thus, it is evident from the joint testimony of both inscriptions mentioned above[25] that Pulakeśin I ruled upto 567 A.D. and in the same year he was succeeded by his son Kīrttivarman I. Besides these epigraphs, the records of his son and grandson shed light on the career and achievements of this Chālukyan monarch. These include the records of Kīrttivarman I,[26] the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa[27] and the celebrated Aihole *Praśasti* of Pulakeśin II.[28]

Achievements

The Badami Rock Inscription of Śaka year 465 describes Chālukya Vallabheśvara (Pulakeśin I) as performer of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices according to Śrauta rites.[29] He turned Vāṭāpi into an invincible citadel by constructing a narrow pass, unapproachable from the hill top as well as from the terrain below.[30] It appears that he had conquered the area around the present Badami and made it his capital by constructing a fort there. The Aihole *Praśasti*, too, clearly indicates that king Śrīvallabha (Pulakeśin I) made Vāṭāpi his capital.[31] Sastri suggests that he established his independence

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from the Kadambas by making himself master of the surrounding areas.[32] Nandimatha, too, is inclined to believe that he wrested Badami from the Kadambas of Banavāsī.[33] Moraes is also of opinion that the early Chālukya rulers were subordinates of the Kadambas till the time of Pulakeśin I.[34] According to him, by virtue of his advantageous position and the weakness of the Kadamba Harivarman, Pulakeśin I wrested the northern territories of the Kadambas of Banavāsī and made Badami his headquarters which was situated in the centre of the snatched province.[35] These suggestions are based on the assumption that the areas around Badami were under the rule of the Kadambas of Banavāsī at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. This is not in conformity with the available epigraphic data because Pulakeśin I was already in possession of those regions in A.D. 543.[36]

As indicated earlier, Jayasiṁha, the grandfather of Pulakeśin I, was the commander of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura[37] and in that capacity he may have defeated the Kadambas. If the above-mentioned suggestion is to be accepted, there is no room to disbelieve that Pulakeśin I, like his grandfather, had also defeated the Kadambas. Moraes admits that Pulakeśin I was able to achieve this victory due to the insurrection of the Kadamba Harivarman[38] but this rules out Kadamba supremacy over the early Chālukyas. Whatever may have been the chain of events, it could hardly be denied that Pulakeśin I had gained victory over the Kadambas. A suggestion might, as well, be made here that it was in order to celebrate this victory that Pulakeśin I performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice which lighted up the earth with its brightness.[39] The fame of this horse sacrifice is recalled even in the later dynastic records of the twelfth century.[40]

The performance of the above sacrifice symbolises the military exploits of Pulakeśin I which he may have achieved against his neighbours. Unfortunately, the early dynastic records do not attribute any specific conquests to him except the capture of Vāṭāpi.[41] It has been suggested by Sircar that Pulakeśin I had obtained success mainly through his martial son Kīrttivarman I, who acted as his father's commander-in-chief.[42] This suggestion gains weight as the Chipluṇ Plates of Pulakeśin II credit Kīrttivarman II with the foundation of the

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city of Badami.[43] The information could only be justified if we assume that the construction of the capital was started during the reign of Pulakeśin I and completed during the time of his son, Kīrttivarman I.

The accomplishments of Pulakeśin I are noted in several Chālukyan records. The Badami Rock Inscription of Pulakeśin I credits him as the performer of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices.[44] The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of his son Maṅgaleśa extols him as the performer of the Agnishṭoma, Agnichayana, Vājapeya, Bahusuvarṇa and Pauṇḍarīka sacrifices besides the Aśvamedha and Hiraṇyagarbha sacrifices.[45] The performance of Vedic sacrifices after the purifying *avabhṛtha* bath also suggests that he had deep faith in the Vedic religion. According to the Nerur Plates of Maṅgalarāja, he was fully conversant with the laws of Manu, and was a master of the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhārata* (*Mahābhārata*) and other *itihāsas*.[46] He was like Bṛhaspati in *nīti*, i.e., politics.[47] He is described in the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription as *vṛddhopadeśagrāhī* (one who heeds the admonitions of the elders), *brahmaṇya* (who upholds the Brahmanic traditions or teaching of the *Brāhmaṇas*), speaker of truth and one who never breaks promises (*satyavāgvisaṁvādakaḥ*).[48] The dynastic records compare him to mythological kings like Yayāti, Dilīpa and others.[49] He was associated with his son Kīrttivarman I in an endowment to god Makuṭeśvaranātha at Mahākūṭa, a place not very far from Badami.[50]

The name of Pulakeśin's wife was Durlabhādevī, who belonged to *Bappura* lineage. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription compares her to Damayantī in her devotion to her husband.[51] It is difficult to ascertain whether it is the same lineage to which Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Goa Grant belonged.[52] Pulakeśin I had two sons, Kīrttivarman I and Maṅgaleśa, both of whom succeeded him.[53] With the publication of the Mudhol Plates, yet another name Pūgavarman has come to light.[54] It has been suggested that Pūgavarman was the eldest son of Pulakeśin I and had predeceased his father.[55] The above suggestion, even if accepted, will not be free from doubt. The name of Pūgavarman's father is not specifically mentioned and he is referred to by the family epithet of *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja*. It will be noticed that this title

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has been applied to Maṅgaleśa besides Pulakeśin I and also to the other rulers of the dynasty along with other honorific epithets.[56] The epithet *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja* is applied singly only to Maṅgaleśa.[57] The Aihole *Praśasti*, however, hints that Maṅgaleśa had a son and that he was anxious to secure the throne for him.[58] As such we are inclined to believe that Pūgavarman was the son of Maṅgaleśa and not that of Pulakeśin I, as the former had also been ascribed the same *viruda*.[59]

Kīrttivarman I

Kīrttivarman I, the son and successor of Pulakeśin I, ascended the throne of Badami after the death of the latter. He is referred to as Kīrttirāja in some inscriptions.[60] The Godachi Copper Plate Inscription calls him Katti-arasa,[61] probably a Kannada rendering of Kīrttirāja. According to the Godachi Plates, he surpassed all his kinsmen in diplomacy and valour.[62] Whether these refer to a clash between the rival claimants or to a fratricidal war, it is difficult to ascertain in the present state of our knowledge.

The dynastic records accord to him the *virudas* of *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha*, *Vallabha* and *Satyāśraya*, i.e., the refuge of truth.[63] Besides these family epithets, he is also bestowed the regal title of *Mahārāja* suggesting that he was a paramount sovereign.[64] The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa bestowed on him the military *viruda* of *Pururaṇaparākrama*, i.e., valorous in war like Puru.[65]

A few inscriptions referring to his reign have come to light. These include the Badami Inscription of the Śaka year 500 dated on *Kārttika Paurṇamāsī* in the twelfth regnal year of the king, which corresponds to 31st October, A.D. 578.[66] This record refers to the construction of the Vishṇu temple by Maṅgalīśvara, i.e., Maṅgaleśa, younger brother of the king.[67] The Godachi Copper Plate Inscription, dated in the twelfth regnal year of the king, records the gift of a field to a *Brāhmaṇa* at the request of the royal minister Vyāghrasvāmin, who is described as *Rājyasarvasva* and *Dhurandhara*.[68] Besides these records, the inscriptions belonging to the reigns of his brother Maṅgaleśa and son named Pulakeśin II also help us in shedding

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light over the events of his reign. In this connection, the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa[69] and the celebrated Aihole *Praśasti* deserve special reference, which furnish interesting details of his career and achievements.[70] Some scholars also think that the Adur Inscription belongs to his reign[71] but it would be more appropriate to refer it to the time of Kīrttivarman II.[72]

Date of Accession

According to the Badami Inscription, his twelfth regnal year falls in the Śaka year 500, making it apparent that he ascended the throne in the Śaka year 488 or 489 = A.D. 566-67.[73] This fact is also evident from the Aminabhāvī Inscription dated in the Śaka year 488 (expired), which was probably the last reigning year of Pulakeśin I.[74] Thus it is evident that Kīrttivarman I ascended the throne of Badami in A.D. 566-67.[75] The length of his reign could hardly be precisely determined in view of the paucity of evidence. He seems to have ruled for a number of years and strove a lot to consolidate and expand the newly-founded kingdom of the Chālukyas of Badami.

Important Events

The Badami Inscription of the Śaka year 500 and the Godachi Plates are silent about the political events of Kīrttivarman's reign.[76] The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription, however, states that this Chālukyan monarch had won victory against several kings including the rulers of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Gaṅga, Mushaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramila, Choliya, Aluka and Vaijayantī.[77] The Aihole *Praśasti* describes him as the night of doom for the Nalas, Mauryas and the Kadambas.[78] The absence of any reference to other kingdoms except the above three led scholars to doubt the veracity of the statement of the Mahākūṭa record.[79] This gains weight because Pulakeśin II, the son of Kīrttivarman I, could hardly be expected to withhold the information about the military exploits of his own father.[80] On the other hand, if we accept it in toto, Kīrttivarman I appears to have conquered those far-flung provinces in the North and South which were

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not included even in the heyday of Chālukyan supremacy.

Conquest of the Kadambas

The Aihole *Praśasti* of his son Pulakeśin II mentions that Kīrttivarman I was *Kālarārti*, i.e., night of death or destruction, to the Nalas, Mauryas and the Kadambas.[81] The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription also includes the ruler of Vaijayantī, i.e., Banavāsī, amongst the kings vanquished by him.[82] Subsequent dynastic records[83] and the later Chālukyan inscriptions of Kalyāṇī also testify to this conquest and narrate that he was *Kuṭhāra* or an axe that cut at the very roots of the Kadambas.[84]

During this period, the Kadambas ruled over territories comprising the present districts of North Kanara, Belgaum, Dharwar and the adjoining regions of Karnataka.[85] Several branches of the family held sway over these areas, while the main branch ruled at Banavāsī in the North Kanara district.[86] As stated earlier, Pulakeśin I had occupied their northern regions, but the Kadambas had not been completely subjugated. Consolidating his hold over those territories and with a view to expanding them in the same direction, Kīrttivarman I adopted an aggressive policy towards the Kadambas. The Kadambas suffered heavily in this struggle. They were not only deprived of their territory but also dislodged from their metropolis. The occupation of their capital is evident from the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa.[87] In the dynastic records of the early Chālukyas, Kīrttivarman is said to have established the banner of his fame in the lands of the hostile kings of Banavāsī and other *maṇḍalas*.[88] But the inscriptions from the time of the regency of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā onwards record that Kīrttivarman had obtained pure fame by defeating the rulers of Banavāsī and other *maṇḍalas*.[89] This seems to suggest that he not only defeated the Kadamba rulers of Banavāsī but also kings of other branches.

The Aihole *Praśasti* of Pulakeśin II also refers to the break-up of the confederacy of the Kadambas by Kīrttivarman I.[90] This probably indicates that the latter tried to regain the fallen capital and territory after forging a confederacy of the neighbouring kingdoms. Nothing could be stated definitely about

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the kings who participated in the confederacy. It seems possible to assume that the Sendrakas, the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas of the other branches under the leadership of the main branch opposed the territorial expansion of Kīrttivarman I. The latter not only broke the conglomeration engineered by the Kadambas, but also routed and dislodged them from their possessions.[91] The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription probably refers to this humiliation of the Gaṅgas and the Alūpas.[92] Probably the Gaṅgas and the Sendrakas were allowed to retain their possessions after acknowledging the supremacy of the victor Kīrttivarman I, but the Kadambas were exterminated and their territory including the beautiful city of Banavāsī was annexed to the Chālukyan dominions.[93] The Sendrakas transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas and cemented their relations by giving a Sendraka princess in marriage to Kīrttivarman I. She was the sister of the Sendraka Rāja Śrīvallabha Senananda, as is evident from the Chipluṇ Plates of Pulakeśin II.[94] The transfer of the Sendraka allegiance signifies the southward expansion and consolidation of the Chālukyan power at the expense of the Kadambas,[95] whose ruler could not be identified in the absence of any specific mention in the Chālukyan records. According to some scholars, the contemporary Kadamba king was Kṛshṇavarman II, who ruled approximately between A.D. 550 and A D. 565.[96] Moraes has rightly shown that he was Kadamba Ajavarman, son of Kṛshṇavarman II.[97] Sastri and Sircar have endorsed his view.[98] Thus it seems that the Kadambas were defeated and their territories were annexed to the Chālukyan kingdom.

Conquest of the Nalas

Kīrttivarman I is also stated to have defeated the Nalas. During this period, the Nalas were ruling in Nalavāḍī, which lay in the direction of Bellary and Karnul districts.[99] The find-spots of their records suggest that their territories lay in the Bastar-Jeypore region at the beginning of the sixth century A.D.[100] The Nala territorial expansion resulted in a struggle with the Vākāṭakas and the Paṇḍuvaṁśī kings of Kośala.[101] The enemy mentioned in the Poḍagarh records has been identified with the Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīsena II.[102] Sircar identifies him

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with Kīrttivarman I who subjugated the Nalas and was 'the night of doom for them'.[103] Sometimes the Nalas are described as the traditional enemy of the Chālukyas. The later Chālukyan records describe Kīrttivarman I as destroying the habitations (*nilaya*) of the Nalas.[104] During the time of Vikramāditya I and his successors, a *vishaya* named Nalavāḍī was included in the Chālukyan empire.[105] Most probably it was named after the Nalas. In the light of this, it is difficult to say whether the Bellary-Karnul area was their southern settlement or it was a southernmost province of the Nala territories.

Conquest of the Mauryas

Kīrttivarman I is also said to have defeated the Mauryas. They are regarded to be the descendants of a Mauryan governor in the Deccan. During this period, they were holding sway over the Konkan region of the present Maharashtra, having their headquarters at Purī which has been described as the Lakshmī of the Western ocean.[106] Scholars generally identify it with the present Ghārapurī near Elephanta Islands in Maharashtra.[107] The defeat of the Mauryas at the hands of Kīrttivarman is definite evidence indicating the expansion of the Chālukyan territories in the northern direction. It seems that the Mauryas were defeated and a new governor was appointed for the newly conquered province of Konkan. Fleet and others believe that Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, who was appointed governor of this territory by Kīrttivarman I, was related to him from his mother's side.[108] Some scholars are also of opinion that he was a member of the royal family.[109] The Nerur Plates of Maṅgalarāja show him as donating Kuṇḍivāṭaka village, which was situated in Koṅkaṇa *vishaya*.[110] These Plates also mention that Maṅgaleśa defeated the Chālukyan chief named Svāmirāja and killed him, who had won eighteen battles.[111] The above-mentioned Svāmirāja was, most probably, the Governor of the Konkan appointed by Kīrttivarman I, after the conquest of the above-referred territory.

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Defeat of the Alūkas and the Gaṅgas

The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription also alludes to the defeat of the Alūkas and the Gaṅgas by Kīrttivarman I.[112] Both the Gaṅgas and the Alūkas were also included among the feudatories of Pulakeśin II.[113] The Kolhapur Plates of Vinayāditya call the Gaṅgas and the Alūpas the hereditary servants of the Chālukyas.[114] On the basis of the Māruṭūrū Grant of *Satyāśraya Śrīpṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja* (Pulakeśin II) of the 8th regnal year, Alūpas (Alūkas or Aḷuvas) appear to be of that small ruling feudatory line of chieftains holding sway in the region round the Guntur district.[115] Sastri suggests on the basis of the find-spots of their inscriptions that they were ruling in South Kanara.[116] In the absence of specific evidence, we could not work out the details of Kīrttivarman's conquest of the Alūkas but he seems to have defeated them, resulting in acknowledgement of their overlordship by the Alūpas.

The Gaṅgas referred to in the Mahākūṭa Inscription appear to be the Gaṅgas of the Tālakaḍ. They are mentioned in the dynastic records of the Chālukyas along with the Alūpas.[117] The Gaṅga territory lay adjacent to that of the Kadambas, to whom they earlier owed allegiance.[118] Probably they were attacked and subjugated by Kīrttivarman when he undertook decisive expeditions against the Kadambas. The Gaṅgas were allowed to retain their possessions after the acceptance of the overlordship of the Chālukyas. In all probability, the Gaṅga adversary was Durvinīta.[119]

Other Conquests

In addition to the above-mentioned rulers, the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription also mentions that Kīrttivarman I achieved victories against several hostile kings including Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Mushaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramila and Choliya.[120] Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha and Madraka lay in Northern India, whereas Kerala, Mushaka,[121] Pāṇḍya, Dramila, Choliya and Vaṭṭūra were in South India. The statement relating to the conquests of Kīrttivarman I seems to be an exaggeration, and it is extremely doubtful for a ruler of his status to have carved out such an extensive empire cover-

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ing the whole of the country. These territories were not even included in the Chālukyan empire when it was at the zenith of its glory. The silence of Ravikīrtti casts serious doubt on the above statement of the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription.[122] It may, however, be proposed that his conquests have been confined to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas, who were the partners of a confederacy shattered by Kīrttivarman I.

It seems that before launching the scheme of conquest of the neighbouring kingdoms Kīrttivarman I fortified the city of Vāṭāpi, his capital. The Chipluṇ Plates of Satyāśraya describe Kīrttivarman I as the first maker of Vāṭāpi.[123] As already stated, Badami had become the capital of the early Chālukyas during the reign of Pulakeśin I as evinced from the Badami Rock Inscription of Vallabheśvara.[124] As such, it might be presumed that Kīrttivarman I adorned the city of Vāṭāpi by constructing temples and completed the work of fortification initiated during the reign of his father.

The Extent of the Kingdom

With the above-referred military expeditions, Kīrttivarman I had not only consolidated the Chālukyan power but also expanded it in different directions. He had inherited the small kingdom which consisted of the area round about Badami to which he added the territories of the Nalavāḍī, Banavāsī, Gaṅgavāḍī and the possessions of the Alūpas, the Sendrakas and the Mauryas. In the north, his kingdom included the Konkan and in the south it extended upto Shimoga district in Karnataka, including Dharwar and Belgaum districts. Towards the Andhra side, his territories were stretched upto Bellary-Karnul and Guntur districts. Thus, his kingdom included Dharwar, Belgaum, Bijapur and Shimoga districts of the present Karnataka, Ratnagiri and adjoining regions of Maharashtra, the Bellary-Karnul region and Guntur area of Andhra Pradesh.

Kīrttivarman I was a paramount sovereign who consolidated the Chālukyan kingdom. His reign marked the beginning of an era of conquests and supremacy in Chālukyan history. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of his brother Maṅgaleśa states that he was endowed with the sovereignty acquired by

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the strength and prowess of his own arms.[125] His feet were rubbed and scrubbed by the jewelled diadems of the hostile kings and whose body was purified by the religious merit of the ablutions performed after celebrating *Agnishṭoma* and *Bahusuvarṇa* sacrifices.[126] The Goḍachi Plates describe him as one 'who was well-versed in the meaning of all the *Śāstras* and their interpretations along with the *Smṛtis*'.[127] He is described as one 'who felt delighted in fostering justice to his subjects'. He had a minister named Vyāghrasvāmin who was not only a man of letters but was also described as *Rājyasarvasya* and *Dhurandhara*.[128] All these statements suggest that he was not only a great conqueror but also a patron of literary activities and an accomplished administrator.

Kīrttivarman I married a Sendraka princess who was the sister of Śrīvallabha Senānanda, a Sendraka subordinate of the Chālukyas.[129] The dynastic records say that he had at least three sons, viz., Pulakeśin II, Vishṇuvardhana and Buddhavarasa.[130] According to the Nirpan Grant, Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha was also a son of Kīrttivarman.[131] Fleet considers this grant as spurious.[132] Thus, it is clear that Kīrttivarman I died leaving behind three sons to succeed him. But we know for certain that after Kīrttivarman I, Maṅgaleśa became the ruler of the Chālukyas. In the absence of any specific contemporary evidence, it is not possible to explain this apparent deviation in the line of succession. One might as well ask why the established law of primogeniture was ignored here. In the absence of any evidence, scholars have conjectured that Pulakeśin II was a minor when Kīrttivarman I died.[133] Therefore, Maṅgaleśa, the younger brother of the deceased king, became the ruler. This view gains weight with the testimony of the later Chālukya inscriptions which state that Maṅgaleśa took upon the burden of the kingdom during the minority of his brother's son and duly returned the kingdom to Satyāśraya when he attained majority.[134] The Aihole *Praśasti* of Pulakeśin II hints that there was a fratricidal war resulting in the murder of Maṅgaleśa.[135] He seems to have ruled upto A.D. 591-92[136] and in the same year he was succeeded by Maṅgaleśa.

It thus follows from the above evidence that Pulakeśin's supposed minority necessitated the occasion for the regency

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administration. Maṅgaleśa, being the uncle of the royal children, probably took up the reins of government of the kingdom as regent.[137] Later on, after gaining full control of the kingdom, he managed to usurp the rights of Pulakeśin II and his brothers. Probably this action of Maṅgaleśa invited the occurrence referred to in the Aihole *Praśasti* of Pulakeśin II.[138] Nothing could be stated definitely in this connection till we get some evidence to throw light on the causes for the deviation in the succession to the throne.

Maṅgaleśa

While the chain of events after the death of Kīrttivarman I leaves room for surmises, there cannot be two opinions about the succession of Maṅgaleśa immediately following his brother. Among the early rulers of the Chālukyas of Badami, Maṅgaleśa was the first king to launch upon an extensive scheme of conquests and win laurels for his house. Unfortunately, the internecine war culminating in his overthrow at the hands of his nephew Pulakeśin II[139] threw his achievements into the background. Subsequently, he was denied his rightful place in the dynastic records because of his attempt to perpetuate his own line of descent on the Chālukyan throne.[140] Leaving the ethics of the question apart, it has to be conceded that he was a gallant ruler with a vision and was anxious to expand the power and prestige of the Chālukyas in the Deccan.

Maṅgaleśa, the younger brother of Kīrttivarman I, was also known as Maṅgaleśvara, Maṅgalīśa, Maṅgalarāja and Maṅgalārṇava (ocean of auspiciousness).[141] His inscriptions credit him with the regal titles of *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha* or *Pṛthivīvallabha* and *Mahārāja*[142] besides the appellations of *Raṇavikrānta* and *Ururaṇavikrānta*, which mean 'the puissant in war' and 'puissant like Uru (or Great) in war'. In addition to these epithets, he has also been bestowed the *virudas* signifying religious faith. As such the Nerur Plates call him '*Paramabhāgavata*',[143] i.e., a devout worshipper of lord Bhagavata (Vishṇu). His faith in Vaishṇavism is further echoed in the Badami Inscription of the Śaka year 500, where he has been associated with the construction of a Vishṇu temple in a cave at Badami.[144] The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription registers a gift of ten villages by him to Lord Makuṭeśvara-

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nātha (the present deity of Mahākūṭa), a local form of Śiva, indicating his leanings towards Śaivism.[145] This might as well mean his catholic attitude towards different Hindu sects.

Sources

A few inscriptions referring to his reign have been discovered so far. These include the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription dated *Vaisākha Paurṇamāsī, Siddhārtha saṁvatsara*, 5th (?) (7th) regnal year of the king.[146] This fine piece of prose *praśasti* sheds light over the political history of the dynasty upto Maṅgaleśa. The Nerur Copper Plates of Maṅgaleśa inform us that this Chālukyan monarch had driven out the Kalachuri king Buddha, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa.[147] Besides, it also refers to a Chālukyan chieftain Svāmirāja, slain by Maṅgaleśa, and registers a gift of a village to a *Brāhmaṇa*.[148] He gifted some land to the garland-makers for the temple of god Lañjīśvara, built by the king himself, as is evidenced from the Badami Cave Inscription.[149] The Goa Grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman probably refers to him with his title *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja* dated in the Śaka year 532, i.e., A.D. 610.[150] This record helps us to determine the reign period of Maṅgaleśa in the absence of any other fully dated record. In addition to these, several pieces of information concerning his reign are gathered from the Badami Inscription of the Śaka year 500[151] and the famous Aihole *Praśasti* of his nephew and enemy Pulakeśin II.[152] Some inscriptions of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī also refer to him as regent ruling during the minority of Kīrttivarman's son.[153]

His Date

The absence of contemporary dated records and the non-reference to his achievements in any other source give rise to several controversies about his reign. One such concerns his date.[154] All the three epigraphs referring to the reign of Maṅgalesá are not dated in any specific era, and later family records also do not furnish any clue for determining the date of his accession.[155] On the basis of the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription, Fleet fixed the beginning of his reign in 597-98 A.D.,[156]

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which may not be taken as final with the source material at our disposal.

It is, however, amply proved that Maṅgaleśa was overthrown by his nephew Pulakeśin II, the son and legitimate successor of Kīrttivarman I, after a civil war.[157] We, therefore, have no direct evidence to account for his date of accession and dethronement. However, we know for certain that Kīrttivarman I was ruling over Badami in the Śaka year 500 and his son Pulakeśin II was ruling over Badami in the Śaka year 534 corresponding to the latter's third regnal year.[158] So Pulakeśin II's reign could not have commenced earlier than Śaka 532 (expired). Therefore, Maṅgaleśa must have ruled somewhere between this period, i.e., Śaka year 500 and 532, corresponding roughly to A.D. 578 and A.D. 610.

The only dated record supposed to be that of the Chālukyas of Badami and belonging to the above-mentioned period is the Goa Grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman.[159] Therein Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman is stated to have gifted the village of Karellikā, situated in Kheṭahāra *deśa* with the prior sanction of the *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja*.[160] The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 532, corresponding to his 20th regnal year.[161] The grant is written in the typical Chālukyan characters of the period and the seal contains the usual Chālukya 'boar emblem'. The title of *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha Maḥārāja* is common and regularly applied to the Chālukya rulers of Badami.[162] On the basis of the aforesaid details, it could be said that the record belongs to the Chālukyas or to one of their feudatories. So the *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja* referred to in the Goa Grant should be some Chālukya ruler of Badami.

There is a title assuming that Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman was a son of Maṅgaleśa,[163] as he is described in the record as the crest-jewel of the Ādi-Bappūra family.[164] Fleet took Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Goa Grant to be a son of Maṅgaleśa, referred to in the Aihole *Praśasti*,[165] but there is nothing in the Goa Grant to support and confirm Fleet's contention. Similarly, there is no truth in the assumption that Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman was a Western Chālukya on his father's side.[166] This assumption of Fleet is based on the identification of the word *Bappūra* with

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the *Batpura* family, to which the wife of Pulakeśin I belonged.[167] Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman is clearly stated to be the crest-jewel of the Ādi-Bappūra family.[168] As such how could he be regarded as a son or scion of the Chālukya dynasty? The family of the Chālukyas was more glorious, better known and more honourable holding sway over a vast country. It is difficult to reconcile the claim of Dhruvarāja Indravarman of quite an unknown family to such a boastful claim in these circumstances.

According to M.S. Sarma, the name *Satyāśraya* Dhruvarājendravarman contains three parts, viz., Satyāśraya, Dhruvarāja and Indravarman and hence Indravarman was the son of Dhruvarāja, the latter being the son of Satyāśraya.[169] Such an interpretation from the break-up of the epithet and the name is fallacious.

Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman was a feudatory of *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja*, and belonged to the Bappūra family. He was stationed at Revatīdvīpa as governor (*adhipati*) of the four *vishaya-maṇḍalas*.[170] He was a vassal chief and was appointed by *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja*, i.e., some Chālukya ruler of Badami. As *Śatyāśraya* Dhruvarāja Indravarman was administering four *vishaya-maṇḍalas*, it is evident that a petty governor like him would not have dated the record in his own regnal year. The very mention of his overlord and his prior sanction render it even less likely. The status of Indravarman is highlighted from the fact that he could only grant a village to the *Brāhmaṇas*, after obtaining the prior permission of the *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja*, i.e., his overlord.[171] As such, it was not possible for him to date the record in his regnal year, as has been supposed by some scholars.[172] The available evidence does not warrant such an assumption. Thus, the *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja* of the Goa Grant was some Chālukya ruler of Badami and the grant is dated in that ruler's 20th regnal year corresponding to Śaka 532, i.e., A.D. 610-11.

Now the question that arises is about *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja's* identity. Several scholars have gone to great lengths to identify him with Kīrttivarman I, Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II. It will be better to consider their arguments before arriving at some conclusion. Fleet proposed that after the conquest of Konkan, Kīrttivarman I placed Satyāśraya

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Dhruvarāja Indravarman as viceroy about A.D. 590 at Revatīdvīpa. The acceptance of this suggestion involves his identification with Kīrttivarman of the Goa Grant. As regards this, the date of the latter stands in the way. We know from the records of Kīrttivarman[173] that he ruled from Śaka 489 = A.D. 567,[174] as such his 20th regnal year could not correspond to the Śaka year 532 as given in the Goa Grant.[175] According to the Aihole *Praśasti*, Revatīdvīpa was first conquered by Maṅgaleśa.[176] Had it been the conquest of Kīrttivarman I (as the suggested identification would involve), would his own son Pulakeśin II have credited it to Maṅgaleśa, his enemy? That allusion almost set the seal on the fact that Revatīdvīpa (also mentioned in the Goa Grant) was conquered by Maṅgaleśa. When that piece of territory was not at all under Kīrttivarman I, how could he appoint Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman as governor of the same? As such, the contention of Fleet and other scholars that Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman was appointed by Kīrttivarman I or in his time is untenable.

Some scholars are of opinion that *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja* of the Goa Grant is identical with Pulakeśin II. They also hold the view that the Goa Grant is dated in the 20th regnal year of the governorship of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman.[177] It has already been made clear that the Goa Grant is not dated in the year of Indravarman's governorship but in the regnal year of *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja*, by whose permission Indravarman donated the village to the *Brāhmaṇas*. Dr. D.C. Sircar, commenting on the point, held that "it was as a result of the difficult days through which the Chālukya emperor was passing about this time that he (Indravarman) appears to have become bold enough to issue the charter dated in his own regnal year."[178] If we admit for a while that Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman could gather courage to bypass and ignore his overlord, i.e., the contemporary Chālukya emperor of Badami, then there was no question of his seeking his permission for gifting a village. When he seeks prior sanction to gift a village, how could he dare to disregard his overlord by dating the charter in his own regnal year? Under these circumstances, it is difficult to agree with the learned scholar. As such the Goa Grant could hardly be regarded as dated in the year of Indravarman's governorship.

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Further, according to the Goa Grant, the 20th regnal year of *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja* fell in the Śaka year 532, i.e., A.D. 610-11.[179] We know from the Hyderabad Grant of Pulakeśin II that Śaka year 534 (expired) was the third year of his reign.[180] It is, therefore, evident that Pulakeśin II's reign could not have commenced earlier than the Śaka year 532, i.e., A.D. 610-11. It means that the 20th regnal year of Pulakeśin II would correspond to the Śaka year 552, and not to the Śaka year 532. As such, *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja* of the Goa Grant could not be identified with Pulakeśin II.

Moreover, if we admit for a while that the overlord mentioned in the Goa Grant was Pulakeśin II, how and why did he allow such a vital disregard on the part of his feudatory Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman?[181]

In fact, the Goa Grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman appears to be earlier in date than the commencement of Pulakeśin II's reign. The Hyderabad Copper Plate Grant of Pulakeśin II is dated in the *Bhādrapada Amāvasyā*, solar eclipse, Śaka year 534, corresponding to his 3rd regnal year.[182] The record appears to be dated in the expired year. The said solar eclipse fell on 23rd July, A.D. 613.[183] The Goa Grant is dated the *Māgha Purṇamāsī*, Śaka year 532,[184] which corresponds to January 4, A.D. 611.[185] Then, if we assume that Pulakeśin I[1] ascended the throne in February-March 611 A.D., the Hyderabad Grant of Pulakeśin falls well in the third regnal year of that king.[186] We may, therefore, conclude that the Goa Grant in all probability must be earlier in date than the commencement of Pulakeśin's reign, though only by a few months.

As stated earlier, the title *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja* denotes some Chālukya ruler of Badami. No doubt, the family records credit Pulakeśin II with this title but it is always coupled with either *Satyāśraya* or some other imperial *viruda* like *Parameśvara, Bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārāja* or *Mahārājādhirāja*.[187] As such, he could not be equated with the overlord of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman mentioned in the Goa Grant, as these titles are wanting in it.

It appears on the basis of available epigraphic data that the overlord mentioned in the Goa Grant was none else but Maṅgaleśa. This identification is further corroborated by

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the following facts. Maṅgaleśa conquered Revatīdvīpa,[188] so there is every possibility that he appointed Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman at Revatīdvīpa. The appointment of Indravarman by Maṅgaleśa seems almost certain as Kīrttivarman I, the predecessor of Maṅgaleśa, was neither on the throne at that time nor did the territory in question come to the Chālukyas during his period. Pulakeśin II, the successor of Maṅgaleśa, had not become the ruling sovereign by that time, as is evident from the Hyderabad Grant of Pulakeśin II.[189] Maṅgaleśa remained on the throne of Vāṭāpi between Kīrttivarman I and Pulakeśin II, as such he, after the conquest of the said territory, placed Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman at Revatīdvīpa.

We know that Maṅgaleśa ruled some time between the Śaka year 500 and the Śaka year 532. The Śaka year 500 corresponded to the 12th regnal year of Kīrttivarman I and the Śaka year 532 was the first regnal year of Pulakeśin II.[190] As such, neither Kīrttivarman's 20th regnal year nor that of his son Pulakeśin II could have corresponded with the Śaka year 532. The Śaka year 532 could only correspond with the 20th regnal year of Maṅgaleśa, who ruled between these two kings. Therefore, he could safely be identified with *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja* of the Goa Grant. In addition to it neither in his inscriptions nor in other records of the dynasty had he ever been accorded the title of *Satyāśraya*.[191] The Mahākūṭa records explicitly state that Maṅgaleśa was also known as *Prithivīvallabha*.[192]

Fleet, who was the first to put the history of that dynasty in a proper form, had propounded A.D. 597-98 as the date of the accession of Maṅgaleśa to the throne of Badami on the strength of the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa dated in his 5th regnal year.[193] This necessitated the suggestion that the Goa Grant is dated in the 20th regnal year of Indravarman's Government.[194] But then, it has to be taken for granted that the Goa Grant is dated in the regnal year of *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja*, the overlord of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman. The Goa Grant, therefore, has to be taken as dated in the Śaka year 532 (current) and the Hyderabad Grant (of Pulakeśin II) in the Śaka year 534 (expired).[195] This assumption gives room to the view that Maṅgaleśa was occupying the throne of Badami when the Goa Grant was issued and

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very soon after it, Pulakeśin II was able to dislodge Maṅgaleśa in the civil war and ascended the throne in the same year. Commenting on the pros and cons of Fleet's theory[196] (that Indravarman was the scion of the Chālukya family and the related issues), Dr. D.C. Sircar even admits that "the identification of *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja*, overlord of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, with Maṅgaleśa is not beyond the bounds of possibility.[197] On the basis of the above discussion, it could be said that *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja* of the Goa Grant is none else but Maṅgaleśa and his 20th regnal year corresponds with the Śaka year 532 (current).

We can fix the termination of the reign of Kīrttivarman I and accession of Maṅgaleśa on the basis of the above conclusion. Kīrttivarman I ascended the throne in the Śaka year 488, i.e., A.D. 566-67, as evidenced by the Badami Inscription of Maṅgaleśa dated in the Śaka year 500, his 12th regnal year.[198] The 20th regnal year of Maṅgaleśa corresponds to the Śaka year 532, meaning thereby that he might have ascended the throne of Badami after the death of his brother Kīrttivarman I some time in the Śaka year 513, i.e., A.D. 591-92, reckoning backwards from his 20th regnal year. This allows a period of about 25 years, between the Śaka years 488 and 513, i.e., A.D. 566-67 and 591-92, to Kīrttivarman I for having been on the throne of Badami.

Maṅgaleśa ascended the throne of Badami some time in the Śaka year 513, i.e., A.D. 591-92. There is no contemporary evidence, direct or indirect, to determine whether he was ruling as a regent[199] or as an independent ruler. According to Fleet and others, Maṅgaleśa ascended the throne of Badami in 597-98.[200] This view is based on the evidence of the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription.[201] The said inscription is dated on the *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī* of the *Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara*, falling in the 5th regnal year of Maṅgaleśa.[202] According to the southern cycle of sixty years, the *Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara* assignable to Maṅgaleśa fell in the Śaka year 522 (i.e., in between the Śaka years 500 and 532).[203] Fleet rejected this suggestion on the ground that it was not in use during that period and in that locality. He preferred the mean sign system according to which the *Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara* fell in the Śaka year 524.[204] Possibly, he rejected the southern cycle of sixty years as it did

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not suit his hypothesis. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription appears to be dated in the expired *Saṁvatsara*. Fleet insisted on the 5th regnal year and *Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara*.[205] But Bhandarkar has questioned the reading of Fleet.[206] It must be stated here that the facsimile of the record in question is not clear on this particular point. Both scholars agree that the letter following the letter "*Pañcha*" is '*ma*' (as read by Fleet), while the second letter of the word, read by Fleet as '*ñcha*', appears to Bhandarkar as quite similar to '*ma*'.[207] Similarly, Bhandarkar has also doubted the reading of the word *Siddhārtha*.[208] Bhandarkar's objections gain weight as we do not come across the use of the corresponding *Saṁvatsara* of the Śaka years or regnal years in the early records of that dynasty.

Thus it would be seen that Fleet's view that the reign of Maṅgaleśa lasted for 13 years does not hold good.[209] It has been shown above that Maṅgaleśa ruled for at least 20 years, as the Goa Grant is dated in his 20th regnal year.[210] There is nothing worthwhile in the argument put forth by Fleet that the Goa Grant has nothing to do with the date of Maṅgaleśa,[211] but it has been shown above that the said record is dated in the regnal year of Maṅgaleśa.

As regards the possible age of Pulakeśin II at the time of his father's death, as discussed by Bhandarkar and partially accepted by Fleet,[212] it could now be definitely stated that since Pulakeśin II had at least two younger brothers, he could not have been less than 5 or 6 years old at the time of the death of his father. When Pulakeśin II revolted against his uncle Maṅgaleśa, he was nearly 25 years old, which is quite reasonable and convincing. It establishes his maturity for setting out on an illustrious career. Even with this consideration only, the Śaka year 513-14 as the date of commencement of Maṅgaleśa's reign could be justified and not the view according to which he came to power in A.D. 597-98.

In view of the above-mentioned facts, it is quite tempting to suggest that the doubtful word '*Pañchama*' (according to Fleet) might have been '*Saptama*'. It becomes all the more probable as both Bhandarkar and Fleet are agreed upon the last letter in the disputed word (*Pañchama*) which is '*ma*'.[213] The joint letter which Fleet read[214] as '*ñcha*' could be '*pta*'. Even Fleet while editing another record of the same dynasty doubted his own

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reading of the word '*Pañchama*' and substituted it with '*Saptama*' in brackets.[215] This makes the suggestion still more probable. If, for a while, we admit the above proposed reading, the Mahākūṭa Inscription could be regarded as dated in the 7th regnal year corresponding to *Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara*. And this makes the date conform with the information from other available sources.

Leaving aside the above-mentioned considerations, even if we insist on the 5th year corresponding to *Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara*, Fleet's theory[216] would nevertheless be unacceptable. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription is dated in the expired *Saṁvatsara*, i.e., current sixth regnal year. Calculating from the Śaka year 514 (established above), the date would come to the Śaka year 520, i.e., 598-99, which is nearer to the intended date of the Mahākūṭa Inscription. It is indeed difficult to settle the date of a king precisely on the basis of the regnal year in the absence of corresponding definite eras. Usually, a difference of two years is noticed between the regnal year and the era mentioned in a particular record. Sometimes the difference could be of three years. As an example, king Vinayāditya's 2nd regnal year corresponded to the Śaka year 604.[217] While his Jejuri Grant is dated in the Śaka year 608,[218] corresponding to his 9th regnal year (on the basis of the records), his 10th regnal year corresponds both with the Śaka year 611[219] and Śaka year 612,[220] his 11th regnal year corresponds both with the Śaka years 613[221] and 614.[222] Thus, his 12th, 13th and 14th regnal years correspond with the Śaka years 614,[223] 615[224] and 617,[225] respectively. Moreover, there is the problem of expired and current years, rendering all calculations rather imperfect. Thus, only rough dates could be determined on the basis of regnal years.

His Conquests

The reign of Maṅgaleśa is notable in Chālukyan history for successful military expeditions. In his time the Chālukyas continued the policy of war and expansion, which began with his predecessor Kīrttivarman I. Maṅgaleśa was a strong ruler, gifted with the valorous qualities of a warrior and commander of the first order. He not only determined to consolidate the proud possessions of his elder brother but also strove to extend

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his dominions in all directions. The epigraphs belonging to his reign not only speak of his military achievements but also mention the names of the defeated rulers. The Aihole *Praśasti* of his nephew and enemy Pulakeśin II only corroborates his military exploits and equally extols his gallant qualities.[226] According to the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription, Maṅgaleśa was desirous of conquering Northern India and longed to set up a pillar of victory on the banks of the river Bhagīrathī, i.e., Gaṅgā.[227] This, however, he could not achieve but he did launch an extensive scheme of conquests when he set out to conquer the enemies of his growing kingdom.

War with the Kalachuris

The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription alludes to the fact that king Maṅgaleśa was interested in the conquests of Northern India and actually defeated a king named Buddha who was deprived of all his possessions.[228] This record further goes on to mention that the wealth of the *Kalatsuris* (Kalachuris) was spent in the idol-procession of the temple of the god (probably it refers to the temple of Makūṭeśvaranātha).[229] The Nerur Plates also inform us that Maṅgaleśa had driven out a king named Buddharāja, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, who had elephants, horses, infantry and treasure.[230] It is evident from the details given in the above plates that Buddharāja was of the lineage of the Kalachuris and the son of the famous king Śaṅkaragaṇa holding sway over parts of Gujarat, Kathiawad and the Nasik region of Maharashtra during this period.[231]

It follows from the above that one of Maṅgaleśa's earliest expeditions was directed against the Kalachuris, and festivities followed the victory in which Maṅgaleśa spent all the booty he had appropriated from the Kalachuris.[232] The reference to this event in the Mahākūṭa Record suggests that it was accomplished before the 5th or 7th year of his reign, corresponding to A.D. 597 or 599.[233] The Aihole *Praśasti* not only confirms the successes of Maṅgaleśa against the Kalachuris but also adds that the cavalry of Maṅgaleśa raised canopies of dust on the shores of eastern and western oceans, when the fortunes of the Kalachuris were shattered and victory was obtained by the Chālukyas.[234] It resulted in the extension of the Chālukyan

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dominion and Maṅgaleśa also enjoyed the Kalachuris' ladies along with their prosperity.

It appears that the successful invasion of the Kalachuris' territory probably turned out to be a raid only which enhanced the prestige of the Chālukyas, as the grants of the humiliated king Buddharāja suggest. The Vaḍner Grant of Buddharāja shows the Kalachuris' occupation of the Nasik region in A.D. 608,[235] making it evident that the Chālukya conquest of the southern provinces of the Kalachuri kingdom was not completed before the date of the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription. Buddharāja even ruled upto A.D. 609 over the Gujarat area, as suggested by the latter's Sarsavani Plates of A.D. 609.[236] This reflects the continuance of struggle between the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas. As we do not hear anything about Buddharāja's family after the above referred date and since Pulakeśin II was in occupation of the Kalachuri territory,[237] a suggestion can be made that Maṅgaleśa had to attack the Kalachuris more than once. In the second and final encounter which is probably recorded in the Nerur Plates, he defeated the Kalachuri king Buddharāja.[238] This event seems to have happened just after the issue of the Sarsavani Plates of Buddharāja.[239] This appears to be the reason for the suggestion of Fleet, according to which the northern province of the Chālukyan dominions extended upto the river Kim or perhaps upto the river Māhī.[240] Sastri doubts it on the ground that the early Chālukyan epigraphs do not say anything to support his view.[241] As this territory was included in the empire of Pulakeśin II, and according to available evidence, he had not conquered it, so it seems plausible that the northern invasion of Maṅgaleśa had yielded this territory to the Chālukyan empire. The early Chālukyan inscriptions do not mention anything against this suggestion. Moreover, the later Chālukyan records imply the inclusion of this territory in the kingdom of Maṅgaleśa.[242]

Conquest of Revatīdvīpa

The next important event of Maṅgaleśa's time was the conquest of Revatīdvīpa, which was probably in Konkan as Revatīdvīpa is equated with the present 'Reḍi' to the south of Vengurla in Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra.[243] The Aihole

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Praśasti refers to the capture of the island of Revatī with strong naval forces and compares it with the army of Varuṇa.[244] This seems to suggest that Revatīdvīpa was somewhere near the sea and Maṅgaleśa deployed his naval forces to occupy it successfully. The later Chālukyan epigraphs assert that Maṅgaleśa had enough troops to occupy all the islands and that his forces crossed the sea by a bridge of boats to attack Revatīdvīpa.[245] All these scattered pieces of evidence go to prove that Maṅgaleśa had besieged the island of Revatīdvīpa with his naval forces.

We know that Konkan was conquered by Kīrttivarman I from the Mauryas and the territory was annexed to the Chālukyan dominions.[246] The Nerur Plates of Maṅgalarāja state that he had killed Svāmirāja, who was a prince of the Chālukyan lineage and had won victories in eighteen battles.[247] The epigraph under discussion does not refer to Revatīdvīpa but Chālukya Svāmirāja was apparently ruling in Konkan. He seems to have been appointed by Kīrttivarman I after the conquest of Konkan. Probably he (Svāmirāja) sided with Pulakeśin II in the latter's efforts to obtain his rightful succession.[248] He may have incurred the displeasure of the ruling Chālukyan monarch. Maṅgaleśa had killed Svāmirāja and appointed Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman as the governor of Revatīdvīpa. The latter was of Ādi-Bappūra lineage, to which probably his mother belonged.[249] The reference to the conquest of Revatīdvīpa in the Aihole *Praśasti*[250] makes it clear that he probably tried to defend himself but was besieged by the naval forces of Maṅgaleśa and was killed on the battlefield. This seems to justify the action of Maṅgaleśa in Konkan, which had already become part and parcel of the Chālukyan empire during the time of Kīrttivarman I.[251] The Goa Grant refers to the gift of the village of Karellikā situated in Kheṭahāradeśa to the *Brāhmaṇas* with the prior sanction of the ruling Chālukya monarch, *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja* (apparently Maṅgaleśa as discussed earlier).[252] The Kheṭahāradeśa is identified with Kheḍ taluka of Ratnagiri district[253] which makes it clear that the conquest of Revatīdvīpa was intended to deprive Svāmirāja of the governorship of Konkan and affirmation of the authority of Maṅgaleśa over the territory of Konkan with its headquarters at Revatīdvīpa. The conquest of Revatīdvīpa is also proved by the Goa Grant of Satyāśraya Dhruva-

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rāja Indravarman if we accept the identification of *Śrīprithivī-vallabha Mahārāja* with Maṅgaleśa by whose prior permission the former gifted the land to the *Brāhmaṇas*, when he was stationed at Revatīdvīpa.[254]

Fratricidal War

In the concluding part of his reign, he had to fight his own nephew Pulakeśin II, plunging the Chālukyas into a fratricidal war. The only contemporary source of our information about this last event of Maṅgaleśa's reign is the Aihole *Praśasti* of Pulakeśin II.[255] It states that Maṅgaleśa had to lose three things at that time because of his ignoring the rightful claim of Pulaekśin II. The three things were—the royal throne, his life, and attempts to perpetuate his own descent.[256] This suggests that Maṅgaleśa at the time of the death of Kīrttivarman I took the reins of the kingdom as regent.[257] Later on, he changed his mind and wanted to secure the throne for his own son, ignoring the rightful claims of Pulakeśin II and his brothers. Maṅgaleśa might have appointed his own son as Yuvarāja, which made his strategy clear to Pulakeśin II. He left the court and probably sought the support of some royal governors of the dynasty like Svāmirāja. With the help of public opinion due to the established rule of primogeniture, he after gaining some sort of military support revolted against Maṅgaleśa, defeated and killed him in the battlefield. Thus, Pulakesin II was able to assert his claim to the throne. As regards the name of the son of Maṅgaleśa, Fleet and other scholars regard him to be Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman.[258] It is, however, proposed earlier that this view is untenable as it lacks evidence. A suggestion can be advanced that Pūgavarman of the Mudhol Plates might be the son of Maṅgaleśa who is described in the records as the son of *Pṛthivīvallabha Māhārāja* on the same grounds as have been proposed in connection with the identification of *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja* of the Goa Grant.[259]

Extent of Empire

The above-mentioned conquests were achieved by Maṅga-

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leśa in the northern direction of his kingdom, as part of his extensive scheme to expand the Chālukyan hold in northern region, where he, being an *Uttara Vijigīshu*, had a plan to plant a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhagīrathī.[260] Thus, the kingdom of Maṅgaleśa included the lower parts of present Gujarat and Kathiawad along with the Nasik and Konkan regions of Maharashtra. In the south, we do not find any addition to the empire during his reign, he retaining his authority over the northern regions of Karnataka and Karnul-Bellary area of Andhra Pradesh.

Maṅgaleśa was a great conqueror, who did a lot to push the boundaries of his kingdom in the northern region extending it to present Gujarat and Kathiawad. This justifies his titles of *Ururaṇavikrānta* and *Raṇavikrānta*.[261] He accomplished the work of Kīrttivarman I in the northern direction with more vigour and better results. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa speaks about his many-sided personality, endowed with virtues of polity, refinement, knowledge, liberality, kindness and civility.[262] He is described as the moon of the dynasty of the Chālukyas, who was as difficult to assault as Mahendra, unconquered like Rāma, liberal as Śibi, faithful to his words like Yudhishṭhira, fortunate like Vāsudeva, in possession of Śrī (Goddess of wealth), having fame equal to Mandhātṛ, and in intellect equal to Bṛhaspati.[263] Further, describing the warrior-like qualities, the author of the Mahākūṭa Inscription narrates that he was an object of desire to crowds of warriors. He had exterminated other lion-like kings with the majesty, vigour and speed of his forearms. Maṅgaleśa was also a great builder, who had accomplished the construction of *Mahāvishṇugṛha* at Badami. The Badami Inscription of Śaka 500 describes this cave-temple as being well-proportioned and of wonderful workmanship.[264] He had not only gifted the land and wealth to the temples of Lord Vishṇu and Śiva but is also credited with having set up the pillar of victory of religion.[265] Undoubtedly due to the hostilities of Pulakeśin II and his successors, he had not only been denied his rightful place in the dynastic records but they also threw his achievements and accomplishments to the background. Unless we come across some new evidence, we could hardly appreciate, with full justification, his achievements.

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NOTES

1. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17-18.
2. Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 48, Vol. XIX, p. 42, Vol. XX, p. 274; *CA*, pp. 230-31; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 206; *KTA*, p. 198.
3. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 5 & 8; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 227f.
4. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f.
5. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f.
6. *DKD*, p. 343 & Notes; *CA*, p. 231.
7. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 207.
8. *HSI*, p. 148; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 207.
9. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 7; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 17; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f; *DKD*, pp. 343-44; *CA*, p. 231; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 207.
10. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 4f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f; *EI*, Vol. I, p. 482.
11. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
12. *HK*, p. 113.
13. *JRAS*, Vol. V, p. 343f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 209f.
14. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
15. *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka*, Vol. XXIII, p. 25; *JUB*, Vol. V, p. 165; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f.
16. *HSI*, p. 167.
17. *KI*, Vol. II, pp. 4-6, no. 2; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4-9; *SI*, Vol. I, p. 482.
18. *SI*, Vol. I, p. 482.
19. *BG*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 358; *Dharwar Gazetteer* (Revised), pp. 59-60; *AI*, Vol. XXX, p. 209.
20. *AI*, Vol. XXX, p. 209; *Dharwar Gazetteer* (Revised), pp. 59-60.
21. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4-9; *SI*, Vol. I, p. 482.
22. *IA*, Vol. III, pp. 305-06, Vol. X, pp 57-60.
23. *Dharwar Gazetteer* (Revised), pp 59-60.
24. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f, Vol. III, p. 305f.
25. *Dharwar Gazetteer* (Revised), pp. 59-60; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f.
26. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 59-62; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
27. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 7-20.
28. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
29. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 4f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 9.
30. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 9.
31. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, v. 8.
32. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 206.
33. *KTA*, p. 201.
34. *KK*, Vol. III, pp. 33 and 51.
35. *KK*, p. 51.
36. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f, Vol. V, p. 8, v. 7.
37. The Daulatabad Plates of Jagadekamalla mention that Jayasiṁha I, the founder of the Chālukyan dynasty of Vāṭāpi, was the destroyer of the pomp of the Kadambas. Most probably, these successes were achieved by the former while he was the commander of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas. Moraes doubts these victories of Jayasiṁha. It appears more plausible that the early Chālukyan rulers carved out their territories in the regions under Kadamba influence. *HAS*, No. 2; *KK*, pp. 33 and 51.
38. *KK*, pp. 51-52; *AHD*, p. 102.
39. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, v. 8.
40. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 77 and 84.
41. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f, Vol. VI, p. 8; *HK*, p. 92; *KTA*, p. 201; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 207;

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CA, pp. 231-32.
42. *CA*, p. 232.
43. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f.
44. *KI*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 4-6; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4-9.
45. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17 and 19.
46. *AI*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
47. Ibid.
48. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17 and 19.
49. Ibid., p. 19.
50. Ibid., p. 20.
51. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
52. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *DKD*, p. 349; *CA*, p. 234.
53. *IA*, Vol. III, p. 305f, Vol. X, p. 57f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 7f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 59f.
54. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 293-98.
55. Ibid., p. 293f.
56. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 207.
57. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
58. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9, v. 15.
59. *Priyatanayaḥ*, *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59.
60. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 43f.
61. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f; *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25f; *JUB*, Vol. V, p. 165f.
62. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f.
63. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f; *CA*, p. 232; *DKD*, p. 345; *KTA*, p. 201.
64. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257f, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f; *DKD*, p. 345; *KTA*, p. 201.
65. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19. The Mahākūṭa and other records call him the performer of *Bahusuvarṇa* and *Agnishṭoma* sacrifices indicating his leanings towards Vedic rituals. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *DKD*, p. 345; *KTA*, p. 201.
66. *IA*, Vol. III, pp. 305-06, Vol. X, pp. 57-60.
67. Ibid.
68. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 59-62.
69. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 7-20.
70. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
71. *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 68-71.
72. *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 4-8; Kielhorn, No. 50; Naik, No. 70.
73. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f.
74. Elliot, *Carnataka Desa Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 612 (as quoted by Fleet); *BG*, Vol. I, Pt II, p. 358; *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 209; *Dharwar Gazetteer* (Revised), pp. 59-60.
75. *DKD*, p. 344; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *CA*, p. 232; *KTA*, p. 201; *HK*, p. 93.
76. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 57-60; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 59-62.
77. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
78. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 9.
79. *DKD*, pp. 345-46; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *CA*, p. 232; *KTA*, p. 201; *HK*, pp. 93-94.
80. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 5-6 & 8, verses 9-10.
81. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 9; verse 10 of the same epigraph specifically refers to the shattering of the Kadambas.
82. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
83. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 58.
84. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 84.
85. *DKD*, p. 285; *CA*, pp. 232-33; *KTA*, p. 113.
86. *DKD*, p. 285; *KTA*, p. 113; *HK*, p. 64; *KK*, p. 36.
87. *AHD*, p. 102; *KK*, pp. 51-52; *DKD*, pp. 285 and 345.
88. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
89. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 66f.
90. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1f; *DKD*, p. 345; *CA*, p. 232.

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91. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
92. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, v. 9; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
93. *DKD*, pp. 345-46; *HK*, p. 93; *KK*, pp. 56 & 60.
94. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f; *HK*, p. 94; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208.
95. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 208-09.
96. *KTA*, p. 113.
97. *KK*, p. 60.
98. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *CA*, p. 273.
99. *DKD*, p. 345; *CA*, pp. 232-33; *HK*, p. 93.
100. *CA*, pp. 188-90.
101. *CA*, pp. 18-90.
102. *BDCRI*, Vol. VIII, p. 4; *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 227; *CA*, p. 189.
103. *CA*, p. 189.
104. "नलविलयविलोपी", *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 84; *DKD*, p. 345.
105. *JBBRAS*, Vol XVI, p. 225f.
106. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 21.
107. *CA*, pp. 235-36; *EHD*, p. 208.
108. *DKD*, pp. 345 & 349; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *KTA*, p. 201.
109. Ibid., p. 349.
110. *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f.
111. Ibid., p. 203f: *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
112. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
113. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10; *KT*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
114. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
115. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 34.
116. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 213.
117. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 19; *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91f.
118. *KK*, pp. 55 & 56; *HK*, p. 88.
119. *KTA*, p. 119.
120. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
121. The king of Mushaka is also referred to in the Kolhapur Plates of Vinayāditya. It probably represents the region through which the river Mūsī flows. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6. If the above suggestion is accepted, it might be proposed that Kīrttivarman conquered the region near Hyderabad.
122. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
123. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f; *CA*, p. 232.
124. *SI*, Vol. I, p. 482; Vol. XXVII, p. 4f.
125. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
126. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
127. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59.
128. Ibid.
129. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f.
130. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1f; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 40f.
131. *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 123f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. II, p. 16f, Vol. XIV, p. 16f.
132. Ibid., Vol. XXX.
133. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *HK*, p. 94.
134. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 77.
135. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9, verses 14, 15.
136. A.D. 597-98; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *DKD*, p. 346; *CA*, p. 233.
137. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 77.
138. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9.
139. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9, v. 15.
140. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 9; *DKD*, p. 348; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 211.
141. *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya* of Someśvara III, edited by M.L. Nagar; *JMSI*, Vol. X, p. 442.
142. *IA*, Vol. III, p. 305f; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 17; *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
143. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f.
144. *IA*, Vol. III. p. 305f, Vol. X, p. 57f.
145. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 19-20.
146. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 7-20.

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147. *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f; *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 161-63.
148. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
149. Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 59-60.
150. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 348-67.
151. *IA*, Vol. III, pp. 305-06, Vol. X, pp. 57-60.
152. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12; *ASWI*, Vol. III, p. 129f; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 237f.
153. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 10-13; *EHDB*, pp. 58-59; *DKD*, p. 346, Note 4.
154. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 7-20, Vol. VII, p. 161f, Vol. X, p. 59.
155. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 10, Note 12; *DKD*, p. 346, Note 4.
156. *DKD*, p. 346.
157. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 7, v. 15.
158. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
159. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 348-67.
160. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
161. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
162. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 233; *CA*, p. 299.
163. *DKD*, p. 349; *CA*, p. 234.
164. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
165. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9, v. 15.
166. *DKD*, p. 349; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209.
167. Ibid., p. 349; *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 19-20.
168. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
169. *JOR*, Vol. IX, p. 31.
170. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
171. Ibid, Vol. X, p. 348f..
172. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *CA*, p. 234.
173. *DKD*, pp. 345-349 & 356; *CA*, p. 234; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *HK*, p. 94; *KTA*, p. 201.
174. *IA*, Vol. III, p. 305f, Vol. X, p. 57f; *DKD*, p. 347, Note 7; *CA*, p. 232; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208.
175. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
176. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, v. 13; *EHDB*, p. 59; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209.
177. *CA*, p. 234; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209.
178. *CA*, p. 234.
179. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
180. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
181. *CA*, p. 234.
182. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f; *DKD*, p. 351; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 18-20.
183. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f; *DKD*, p. 356; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 19.
184. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
185. *EI*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 222; *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 14; *DKD*, pp. 355-56.
186. If we take both the epigraphs as dated in the current years, the corresponding English dates would be 5th July, 610 A.D., for Goa Grant and 2nd August, 612 A.D., for Hyderabad Grant. See *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 14 & *IE*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 222; *DKD*, pp. 355-56.
187. *DKD*, p. 351; *CA*, p. 235; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 16.
188. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, v. 13.
189. *AI*, Vol. VI, p. 72f; *DKD*, pp. 351 and 356; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 212; *CA*, p. 234.
190. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
191. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 17.
192. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.
193. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 10-13; *DKD*, p. 386, Note 4; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *CA*, p. 233.
194. *CA*, p. 234; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *DKD*, p. 348.
195. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
196. *DKD*, p. 349.
197. *CA*, p. 234.
198. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57, Vol. III, p. 305.

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199. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 77 and 84; *DKD*, p. 348; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *HK*, p. 95; *KTA*, p. 202.
200. *CA*, p. 234; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *HSI*, p. 148; *HK*, p. 95; *DKD*, p. 348.
201. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 10, Note 12; *DKD*, p. 346; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *CA*, p. 234.
202. Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 10-13.
203. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 10f; *DKD*, p. 349.
204. Ibid., Vol. X, p. 57f, Vol. XIX, p. 10; *DKD*, p. 349, Note 1.
205. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 10f, Vol. X, pp. 57-58; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XIV, p. 23f.
206. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 23-25; *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 10-13.
207. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 10f; *CWB*, Vol. II.
208. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 23-25.
209. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 10f.
210. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
211. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 10f.
212 Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 11-12; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XIV, p. 23f.
213. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 11; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 23-25.
214. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.
215. Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 112, Vol. XXX, p. 218, No. 38.
216. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 10-13.
217. *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 2 & 18, No. 48.
218. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f.
219. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 85; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 231f.
220. *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 289f.
221. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 88f.
222. *JOR*, Vol. X, p. 27f.
223. *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 24f.
224. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
225. *IA*, Vol. XL, p. 240f.
226. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, verses 11, 12, 13.
227. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.
228. Ibid., p. 17.
229 *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 20.
230. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
231. *CA*, p. 194; *SEDSI*, pp. 186-87.
232. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 19-20.
233. Sastri, Sircar and others opine it to have happened prior to A.D. 602 following the views of Fleet (*DKD*, p. 347; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *CA*, p. 233; *KTA*, p. 202), while Desai thinks that the event took place in A.D. 601 (*HK*, p. 94).
234. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, verses 11-12.
235. *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 30f.
236. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 294.
237. *CA*, p. 196; *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, verse 22, Vol. XXVIII, p. 37f.
238. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f.
239. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 294f.
240. *DKD*, p. 347.
241. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 210-11.
242. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91f; *EI*, Vol. II, p. 1f.
243. *DKD*, p. 347, Note 2; *CA*, pp. 233-34; *EHDB*, p. 58; *HK*, p. 95; *KTA*, p. 202. Sastri equates it with the present territory of Goa. *HSI*, p. 148; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209.
244. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 13.
245. *JRAS*, Vol. II, p. 382, Vol. IV, p. 345; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 77; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 210.
246. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *CA*, p. 232; *DKD*, p. 345.
247. *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
248. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 210; *CA*, p. 233.
249. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f; *DKD*, p. 349; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *CA*, pp. 233-34; *HK*, p. 93.

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250. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, v. 13.
251. *DKD*, p. 345; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *CA*, p. 232; *HK*, p. 93.
252. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
253. *DKD*, pp. 355-56; *CA*, p. 234.
254. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
255. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 16.
256. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 15.
257. *EHD*, Vol. I; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 77; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 211; *CA*, p. 234.
258. *DKD*, p. 349; *CA*, p. 234; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209.
259. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 293.
260. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
261. Ibid., p. 19.
262. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
263. Ibid., p. 19.
264. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 305f, Vol. X, p. 57f.
265. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 20, Vol. X, p. 59.

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IV

The Chālukyas at their Zenith

Pulakeśin II

PULAKEŚIN II, the most celebrated and renowned ruler of the Chālukyas, was the son and legitimate successor of Kīrttivarman I. He ascended the throne of Badami after the coup against Maṅgaleśa, his uncle and predecessor.[1] It could be inferred from the Aihole *Praśasti* that Pulakeśin II probably left the court of his uncle and regent Maṅgaleśa,[2] who tried to appoint his own son as *yuvarāja* in preference to the legal claimant and legitimate successor of his elder brother Kīrttivarman I. With the help of good counsel and power gathered from outside, this young Chālukyan prince revolted against the authority of his uncle, killed him in a civil war and became the ruler of his father's kingdom. The Aihole *Praśasti* further informs us that due to the above-mentioned action of Pulakeśin II, Maṅgaleśa in his efforts to secure kingdom for his son had to lose his life and his great kingdom.[3]

There is, however, no positive evidence about the background of this episode. It could only be presumed that Pulakeśin II was interested in his rightful claim to the throne which Maṅgaleśa had usurped during the period of his regency.[4] He was not prepared to part with it in favour of his nephew, who was the rightful claimant to the Chālukyan throne. The move got accelerated when this young Chālukyan

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prince had attained majority and sufficient strength to press his claim, finally leading to his taking up the cudgels against his uncle.[5] The latter was naturally interested in passing on the reins of the kingdom to his own son, as mentioned in the Aihole *Praśasti*.[6]

The dynastic records of the Early Chālukyas give two variations of the name of Pulakeśin II, which were Polekeśin and Pulikeśin, but he is famous in history with his *viruda* '*Satyāśraya*', i.e., 'refuge of truth'.[7] Besides this *viruda*, generally used as a substitute for his name, several Imperial titles like *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* are accorded to him in the dynastic records. He is also bestowed the family epithets of *Śrīprithivīvallabha*, *Vallabha* or *Śrīvallabha* and *Satyāśraya*, which are constantly added to his name. The title Satyāśraya was subsequently taken as a synonym for the Imperial name of the Chālukyan dynasty by his successors. The name and fame of this monarch shed so much lustre that the succeeding Chālukyas called themselves as of *Satyāśrayakula*.[8]

The next title of *Parameśvara*, i.e., 'the great lord or the lord of lords', was adopted by Pulakeśin II after defeating Harshavardhana of the North, as is suggested by several Chālukyan records.[9] The Hyderabad Copper Plates, however, mention only the defeat of a ruler by Pulakeśin II, who in turn had won victories over a hundred kings.[10] Hiuen-Tsang calls him Pu-lo-ki-she, a Kshatriya, the ruler of Mo-ho-la-cha.[11] The Persian historian Tabarī remembers him with the name *Paramesa* or *Pharmis*, i.e., probably a Persian equivalent for *Parameśvara*.[12]

The Chālukyan ruler also took certain titles suggestive of his religious faith in a particular deity. Thus, he is described as an ardent devotee of Lord Vishṇu (*Paramabhāgavata*) in the Lohner Copper Plate Inscription.[13] He is also mentioned as belonging to the line of Vishṇu in the Piṁpalner Plates.[14] The Chālukyan faith in Lord Vishṇu is also evident from several other records beginning with the salutations to Him and seals with the *varāha* emblem.[15]

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Sources

We have nearly a dozen records referring to his reign. These shed light on the eventful career and achievements of this monarch. The Yekkeri Rock Inscription probably referring to his first regnal year (?) records certain lands in certain towns which were the property of God Mahādeva.[16] The language of this record appears to be influenced by the Gupta epigraphs. The Hyderabad Copper Plates dated in the Śaka year 534, corresponding to the third regnal year of Pulakeśin II, are helpful in fixing his accession to the throne in the Śaka year 532.[17] The Kaṇḍalgaon Copper Plate Inscription of Pulakeśin II is dated in his 5th regnal year and registers a grant of a village named Pirigipa in the island of Revatīdvīpa by the king.[18] This record is considered spurious for irregular formation of the characters and great inaccuracy in language.[19]

The next record, namely, the Maruturu Grant dated in 8th regnal year, notices the occupation of Pishtapura, and the grant of the village Maruṭuru at the instance of Aluka *Mahārāja*.[20] Reference might as well be made to the Satara Grant of Vishṇuvardhana of the same year which refers to Vishṇuvardhana as the crown prince.[21] It is rather strange that there is a big gap of 10 to 12 years in the chronological framework, as is evident from the records. The next inscription from Lohner (Nasik district, Maharashtra) is dated in the year 552, which should be in the Śaka era if it has to fall in his reign.[22] It is addressed by way of command to *rājyasamānta* and administrative officials for registering the gift of the village Goviyānaka in favour of a *Brāhmaṇa* named Dama Dikshita. The Kopparam Plates dated in the 21st regnal year are another record of gift of a village[23] in favour of a *Brāhmaṇa* in Karmarāshṭra.

Fuller information about the political events connected with his reign is available from the Aihole *Praśasti*, a composition of the court poet Ravikīrtti.[24] This record enumerates the military expl its of the king in chronological order. This unique inscription was written on the occasion of the construction of the temple dedicated to Jinendra by Ravikīrtti in the Śaka year 556.[25] Further details need not be quoted here as these are recorded at appropriate places.

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Besides these dated ones, a few undated records are also found. These include the Tummeyanuru Grant of Pulakeśin II which bestows the title of *Parameśvara* on this Chālukyan ruler but significantly ignores any reference to Harsha.[26] The Chipluṇ Plates and the Nerūr Plates are fairly important from the point of cultural history.[27] The Chipluṇ Plates refer to the maternal uncle and the feudatory of the king, the Sendraka Rāja Śrīvallabha Senandarāja and record the gift of the village Amravātāvaka in Avaretikā *vishaya* to a *Brāhmaṇa* Maheśvara.[28] The Badami Fragmentary Stone Inscription refers to this Chālukyan monarch and the victorious metropolis of Vāṭāpi.[29] A few Stone Inscriptions are also assigned to the reign of this Chālukyan monarch. Among these, a Stone Inscription found at Hirebidri in Dharwar records the gift of land by (Ti)raka.[30] Another Kannada record from Bellary district refers to Satyāśraya and specifies the land measure and the coin to be used at Kurumgodu.[31] The Peḍḍavaḍaguru Īśvara Temple Stone Inscription from Anantpur district refers to Ereyiṭiyaḍigal *Satyāśraya* and records the grant of the village Elpaṭṭu Simbhige after subjugation of Raṇavikrama, probably a Bāṇa king.[32]

Some of the records are, however, considered spurious, but it would be worthwhile placing reliance on some of them. These include the Lakshmeśvar Inscription and the Pimpalner Plates,[33] which are considered as spurious because of late script and irregular dating.[34] The Lakshmeśvar record refers to Sendraka Durggaśakti, and registers the gift of a field measuring 50 *nivartanas* of land for the Chaitya of Śaṅkha Jinendra,[35] while the Pimpalner Plate Inscription purports to record the bestowal of the village Pippalanagara upon Nagarasvāmī Dīkshita by king *Satyāśraya*.[36]

Some information is adduced about this Chālukyan monarch from the records of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī[37] and also from the inscriptions of the Chālukyan ruler's adversaries, namely, the Pallavas of Kāñchī.[38] The Chinese pilgrim, visiting the capital of this ruler, has also some information to provide on this ruler's many-sided genius and his clash with Harsha of Kannauj.[39] The Persian historian Tabarī also records something about him,[40] and the fresco scenes at Ajanta probably refer to the visit of the Persian embassy to his court.[41]

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The Date of Accession

Despite several dated records of Pulakeśin II, some controversy still exists about the date of his accession. The Hyderabad Copper Plate Inscription records Pulakeśin II, ruling in his 3rd regnal year when he gifted a village from Vāṭāpi on *Bhādrapada amāvasyā*, which was a solar eclipse day in the Śaka year 534 (expired).[42] According to the Indian ephemeris, this eclipse fell on 23rd July, A.D. 613.[43] Fleet, while editing the above record, also agreed with this date in the English calendar and placed the accession of this ruler to some date between A.D. 609 and 610.[44] Later on he changed his opinion and suggested July 23, A.D. 612 as the date of the said plates.[45] This is, however, not possible since the eclipse falling on 23rd July, A.D. 612 was not visible in any part of India, and therefore could not be the occasion for the gift, as suggested by B.V. Krishṇa Rao.[46] Thus, the earlier contention of Fleet seems more plausible. Now counting back from this date, i.e., 23rd July, A.D. 613, the first regnal year of Pulakeśin II falls in the *Bhādrapada* Śaka year 532 (expired) corresponding to 23rd July, A.D. 610.[47]

We know that the last known date of Maṅgaleśa is *Māgha Purṇamāsī*, Śaka 532, if we accept his identification with *Śrī-prithivīvallabha Mahārāja* of the Goa Grant.[48] This date appears to be in the current era and not the expired one so as to fit in with the above-mentioned date, corresponding to July 5th, A D. 610.[49] Thus, it may be proposed that Pulakeśin II dethroned Maṅgaleśa some time between these two dates, and assumed power on a date between January, A.D. 610 and July, A.D. 610.[50]

The controversy about the exact date has been revived once again with the editing of the new grant discovered at Maruṭuru in Karnul district of Andhra Pradesh.[51] Shri Ramesan, while editing this record, fixed the initial year of Pulakeśin's accession as A.D. 609, on the basis of the data relating to the solar eclipse in this record.[52] It is dated in the 8th regnal year of the king when the solar eclipse took place on the *Jyeshṭha amāvasyā*.[53] The *Amānta Jyeshṭha* solar eclipse fell on 21st May, A.D. 616.[54] If this is the 8th year of Pulakeśin's reign, then his accession has to be placed in A.D. 609. This is in conflict

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with the earlier evidence from the Goa Grant and the Hyderabad Copper Plate Inscription.[55] The latter one has its importance since it refers to both the year and the contemporary Śaka year. Therefore, the information of the Maruṭuru Grant in this respect is obliterated, and could hardly be given the same weightage as to the Hyderabad Plates.[56] Thus, it seems quite natural to assume that as the last date of Maṅgaleśa is 5th January, A.D. 610[57] and first known date of Pulakeśin II is 23rd July, A.D. 610[58] as calculated above, the latter seems to have ascended the throne between these two dates in A.D. 610.

Main Events

The Aihole *Praśasti* hints at disruption and general upsurge in the Chālukyan kingdom following the death of Maṅgaleśa in a fratricidal war and the accession of Pulakeśin II to power.[59] Disgruntled forces had come upon the political horizon, causing trouble and anxiety to the new Chālukyan monarch. It was, therefore, incumbent upon Pulakeśin II to contain these forces and bring about peace and stability in his realm. These adversaries included those who were friendly towards Maṅgaleśa or who wanted to benefit out of this state of chaos and disorder for their personal gain, and declare their independence. The conquests of this young ruler, undertaken to consolidate and expand his kingdom, are enumerated in the celebrated Aihole *Praśasti*, most probably in chronological sequence.

Defeat of Āppāyika and Govinda

The rulers named Āppāyika and Govinda were the first ones to raise their banner of revolt against Pulakeśin II and thus necessitating their clash with the Chālukyas from the country north of the river Bhīmarathī, i.e., Bhīmā. Pulakeśin II acted in a diplomatic manner by alienating Govinda from his ally Āppāyika following the policy of creating dissension (*bheda*), thereby defeating and extinguishing the former.[60] He won over Govinda as a friend and ally by bestowing favours on him.[61] As regards the identity of these two, we have to look to other sources since the Aihole *Praśasti* is silent on this

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point. Ravikīrtti, the author, simply suggests that the rulers named Āppāyika and Govinda approached the kingdom of Pulakeśin with their troops of elephants from the region north of the river Bhīmā,[62] thus pointing their seat of power somewhere in the Southern Maratha country lying to the north of the kingdom of the Chālukyas.

It has been suggested that the names Govinda and Āppāyika seem to be of Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage.[63] Besides the identification on the basis of namesake, the other evidence on this point could be the hereditary clash between the two houses.[64] As the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas had clashed earlier as well, with the latter finally owing allegiance to the former, it was natural that the feudatories should avail themselves of the opportunity to declare their independence, when there was political tension as a result of the fratricidal war in the Chālukyan kingdom. It is likely that Āppāyika and Govinda belonged to the family of the Rāshṭrakūṭas which was ruling in the Southern Maratha country, as is evident from Undikavāṭikā and Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī Plates of Abhimanyu.[65] We know for certain that a Rāshṭrakūṭa family did exist in the Southern Maratha country prior to the ascent of the Chālukyas to power at Badami.[66]

These early Rāshṭrakūṭas were deprived of their possessions by the Nalas and the Mauryas who in their turn lost to the Chālukyas under the leadership of Pulakeśin I.[67] Thus, the Rāshṭrakūṭas' possessions ultimately passed on to the Chālukyas without any show of force. Unfortunately, we do not find the name of the Rāshṭrakūṭas among the feudatories of Pulakeśin II and Vikramāditya I, but, however, we do find a Rāshṭrakūṭa subordinate Śivarāja mentioned in the Narwan Plates of Vikramāditya II.[68] Further, the founder of the main Rāshṭrakūṭa line, Dantidurga, was the subordinate of Vikramāditya II and Kīrttivarman II, as suggested by the Ellora Plates.[69] The above-mentioned facts go to prove that the Rāshṭrakūṭas were the subordinates of the Chālukyas since the beginning of their rule but they became prominent during the reign of Vikramāditya II.

It can as well be suggested on the basis of the above discussion that Āppāyika and Govinda were probably the offshoots of the early Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Abhimanyu, ruling

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in the Southern Maratha country.[70] Their fate seems to have been sealed by the incursions of the Chālukyas, who occupied their territories at a time when the former were struggling for their survival against the Nalas and the Mauryas. The later Chālukyan inscriptions also point to the above conclusion.[71] These Rāshṭrakūṭas, however, should not be confused with the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa, who were supplanted by the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. Bhandarkar had suggested that Govinda of the Aihole *Praśasti* is identical with his namesake, the grandfather of Dantidurga, who ousted the Chālukyas of Badami.[72] We know that Āppāyika and Govinda revolted against Pulakeśin II immediately after the accession of the latter, probably in A.D. 610 or 611, indicating that Govinda flourished about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. According to the Ellora and Samangarh Plates, Dantidurga ruled from A.D. 742 to 757.[73] Thus, the dates do not coincide and leave a gap of more than a century, making the above suggestion untenable.

Recapture of Banavāsī

After consolidating his position at home, Pulakeśin II launched an extensive scheme of conquest to reaffirm his claim to the territories conquered by his predecessors. He marched against the Kadamba ruler of Banavāsī and besieged his capital,[74] as this southern king, formerly owing allegiance to the Chālukyas, had become indifferent in the period of turmoil between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II.[75] Besides the Banavāsī ruler, there were other Kadamba royal families as well,[76] although there is no information about their relationship with the Chālukyas. Probably they were too weak to raise their heads against this paramount ruler of the South. It was, therefore, the Banavāsī house alone, which could in a way try to alienate itself from the Chālukyan supremacy. The result was, of course, obvious with Pulakeśin II clashing with the Kadambas and inflicting on them a heavy blow. The latter had put up great resistance, but in the end they were forced to surrender.[77]

The description of the Kadamba capital, as given in the Aihole *Praśasti*, resembling the city of gods, and a girdle of

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swans playing on the high waves of the river Varadā, is indicative not only of the prosperity of the Kadambas, but also of its strong defensive position.[78] It is difficult to name the vanquished Kadamba ruler in the absence of any positive evidence. In all probability, he was the Kadamba Bhogivarman about whom no positive contribution is noted in the Kadamba records nor about his son Vishṇuvarman.[79] Thus, the Kadambas were completely dispossessed of their kingdom by the Chālukyas. Their kingdom was annexed to the growing Chālukyan empire. Pulakeśin II, with the intention of exterminating the Kadamba power, parcelled out the conquered territory among his two faithful allies.[80] The Alūpas received the Kadamba *maṇḍala* consisting of the major portion of the Kadamba kingdom,[81] and the Sendrakas received the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division of Banavāsī. This action was motivated by strategic considerations to eliminate any future chance of the revival of Kadamba power.

The Subjugation of the Alūpas and the Gaṅgas

After extermination of the Kadambas, the Aihole *Praśasti* narrates the subjugation of the Alūpas and the Gaṅgas.[82] The former were ruling over the South Kanara district of Karṇāṭaka for several centuries;[83] but some scholars believe that their headquarters was at Huṁchā in Shimoga district of Karṇāṭaka.[84] However, it could be suggested on the basis of the Maruṭūru Grant that this feudatory family ruled over the region of Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh, provided we regard the term Alūka as identical with Alūpa.[85] It is also contended that during the period of Kadamba hegemony, the Alūpas owed their allegiance to them.[86] It seems probable that when the Kadambas of Banavāsī lost to the Chālukyan ruler Pulakeśin II, they transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas. It is evident from a verse in the Aihole *Praśasti* that the Alūpas and the Gaṅgas were defeated by Pulakeśin's predecessors and made vassals.[87] It may as well be mentioned here, on the authority of the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa, that the Alūpas and the Gaṅgas were defeated by Kīrttivarman I, who made them his subordinates.[88] Pulakeśin II simply reaffirmed his hold over them. The Alūpas were the first ruler

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to receive the possessions of the Kadambas after the latter's defeat.[89] This rules out the suggestion that the Alūpas were forced to submit by Pulakeśin II.

Moraes suggests that the Alūpas were not completely subdued by Kīrttivarman I, for the conflict seems to have continued during the reign of Maṅgaleśa,[90] who, along with the Kalachuris, is reported to have subdued the Alūpas.[91] Further, according to Moraes, the Alūpa king, who accepted the servitude of Pulakeśin II, was probably Kundavarammarasa, a predecessor of Guṇasāgara, who issued the Kigga Grant in A.D. 675.[92] Pulakeśin II ruled between A.D. 610 and 642, so we can presume that Kundavarammarasa might be the Alūpa chief, who was made governor of the Kadamba *maṇḍala*. If the word is identical with Alūpa, then it might be proposed that the Alūka Mahārāja mentioned in the Maruṭūru Plates might be Guṇasāgara, who had come from Maṅgalagiri to take up the government of Kallūra after undergoing several *dukhas*.[93] The geographical factor no doubt stands in the way, till we get some definite evidence to prove it.

The next in the list of Pulakeśin's adversaries were the Gaṅgas, who are referred to in the Aihole *Praśasti*,[94] as those of Talakad. They also figure along with the Alūkas or the Alūpas in the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription being overwhelmed by the Chālukya Kīrttivarman I.[95] The Gaṅga king defeated by Kīrttivarman I was either Avinīta or his son Durvinīta who ruled for an exceptionally long period.[96] Some scholars suggest that Durvinīta was the contemporary of three Chālukya kings, viz., Kīrttivarman I, Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II,[97] while Moraes believes that Durvinīta was the contemporary of Maṅgaleśa, Pulakeśin II and Vikramāditya I.[98] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri regards the statement of the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription as a clear case of hyperbole and gives the credit for subjugating the Gaṅg s to Pulakeśin II.[99] It seems that during the period of the turmoil prior to the accession of this Chālukyan monarch, the Gaṅgas, too, like the Kadambas with whom they were connected by matrimonial ties,[100] tried for their independence. The destruction of the Kadambas by Pulakeśin II, however, forced the Gaṅgas to acknowledge the supremacy of the Chālukyas without any show of force. Further, the Gaṅga ruler Durvinīta gave his daughter in marriage to Pulakeśin II to cement their relations.[101]

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This lady became the mother of Vikramāditya I.[102] The action of the Gaṅga king Durvinīta was also motivated by political considerations, especially to get back the portion of his kingdom named Koṅgunāḍu, which the Pallavas had snatched from them,[103] with the help of the Chālukyan forces. The animosity between these two powers, namely, the Gaṅgas and the Pallavas, was nevertheless a perpetual feature in South Indian history.[104] The former defeated Kāḍuveṭṭi of Kāñchī (the Pallava ruler), though the date for this event is uncertain.[105]

Conquest of Purī (The Mauryas)

After establishing his imperial position in the western Deccan, Pulakeśin II turned his attention towards the northern parts of the Deccan. He attacked the territory of the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇa, who were earlier defeated by Kīrttivarman.[106] The Chālukyan overlordship over them continued in the time of Maṅgaleśa, but the Mauryas probably were equally anxious to regain their independence when the uncle and the nephew were engaged in strife for the Chālukyan throne. Pulakeśin II, however, did not allow grass to grow under his feet and immediately after consolidating his hold, he besieged the Mauryan capital Purī on the western coast.[107] The Chālukyan navy stormed it successfully and shattered the Mauryan dream of independence.[108]

It is not possible to find out the name of the Mauryan ruler defeated by Pulakeśin II in the absence of any specific mention in this regard. The Mauryan capital Purī is identified with modern Ghārapurī, i.e., island of Elephanta, near Bombay,[109] while some other scholars equate it with Rajapuri near Jañjira in Kolaba district of Mahārāshṭra.[110] In view of the above identification as well as with the discovery of several Mauryan records in the vicinity of Goa, it is evident that they were rulers of Goa and the Koṅkaṇa region of present Mahārāshṭra.[111] The Aihole *Praśasti* also describes the Mauryas as the rulers of Koṅkaṇa.[112] All these facts point that their territory was extending into the western coastal region of Mahārāshṭra and Gujarat.

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Submission of the Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras

After the capture of the Mauryan capital of Purī, Ravikīrtti narrates the submission of the Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras, evidently of Broach. He also adds that these powers were subdued by Pulakeśin's splendour providing an example of emulation for others.[113] Chālukyan sovereignty over the Lāṭa and the adjoining regions is further attested by the establishment of a Chālukya viceroyalty in that area. The Lāṭa territory was situated to the south of the river Kim with its capital at Navasārikā or modern Navsārī in Gujarat.[114] This area formed part of the dominions of the Kalachuri ruler Buddharāja, whom Maṅgaleśa had defeated.[115] It seems that Pulakeśin II occupied this territory either after the submission of the Kalachuri ruler or through force, and entrusted it to Vijayavarmarāja, a Chālukyan scion, who was ruling over it in A.D. 643, as is evident from his Kaira Plates.[116]

The king of Mālavā corresponds to Mo-la-po of Hiuen-Tsang described by him as an independent one.[117] It was, however, under the domination of the Maitraka king Śilāditya I as mentioned in the Vallabhī records.[118] Further, a grant belonging to the Maitraka Dhruvasena dated in A.D. 640-41 affirms that he was holding prossession of at least a part of Mālavā.[119] On the other hand, we have little evidence to prove Pulakeśin's actual hold over Mālavā. This probably enables us to surmise that it might have either been under the suzerainty of the ruler of Vallabhī or was an independent kingdom, before accepting the suzerainty, out of fear from Harshavardhana of Northern India, along with the two other kingdoms of Lāṭas and Gurjaras.

Historically, it would be more appropriate to equate this kingdom of Mālavā with the one referred to by Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* along with the same set of rulers, i.e., the Lāṭas and the Gurjaras, the enemy of Prabhākaravardhana, father of Harsha.[120] Probably the same king is also referred to in connection with the murder of Grahavarman of Kanauj and also involved in the conspiracy to lure Rājyavardhana to death.[121] This kingdom is said to be the feudatory state of the Chālukya Vinayāditya, who received tribute from its king, as recorded in the Kolhapur Plates.[122] In view of the above-mentioned fact,

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it is natural to suggest that the Mālavā kingdom referred to in the Aihole *Praśasti* was in close proximity to Chālukyan kingdom bordering on the river Narmadā. As such due to probable danger from Harsha's side, it had to seek the help of the Chālukyan monarch.

The Gurjaras during this period ruled over the territory between rivers Kim and Māhī, with the Lāṭas in the south and the Mālavas in the east.[123] It is difficult to explain the reasons prompting the Gurjaras to accept the overlordship of Pulakeśin II. It is quite likely that the Gurjara ruler Dadda II, who had helped the Maitraka ruler of Vallabhī, said to have been overpowered by Śrī Harshadeva,[124] could find common cause for submission to the Chālukyas.

In view of the clear mention in the Aihole *Praśasti* that the Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras submitted to the Chālukyan overlord of their own accord,[125] it is reasonable to presume that there was no clash with them. Dr. R.C. Majumdar holds that the Gurjaras of the Aihole *Praśasti* were those of Mandor and not the Gurjaras of Broach on the following two arguments[126]—firstly, the region occupied by the Broach Gurjaras was included in the Lāṭa kingdom[127] and secondly, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang refers to only one kingdom which was at a distance of 300 miles to the north of Vallabhī.[128] It is not consistent with the available evidence on this point because the Lāṭa kingdom did not include the region occupied by the Gurjaras of Broach prior to A.D. 736.[129] Following Fleet,[130] Dr. Puri suggests that it is evident from the Chālukyan and Gurjara records that the small territory of Lāṭa was bounded on the north by Kim and in the south by Dāmangaṅgā and was separated by the former river from the Gurjara territory.[131] The Chinese pilgrim mentions only one Gurjara kingdom (Bhinmal) and did not take notice of the other feudatory Gurjaras,[132] as in the case of the Lāṭas and the Mālavas.

It can as well be suggested that the country occupied by the Gurjaras, the Mālavas and the Lāṭas was conquered by Maṅgaleśa. After the defeat of Kalachuri Buddha, his Gurjara feudatory might have transferred his allegiance to the new lord (Maṅgaleśa) and the Lāṭas and the Mālavas followed suit. After the overthrow of Maṅgaleśa, these rulers either submitted to Pulakeśin II or the latter reaffirmed his hold over them.[133] Thus,

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it is evident that the ruler who submitted to Pulakeśin was the Gurjara ruler of Broach. The non-mention of any specific details about these rulers forbids us from attempting their identification.

Harsha-Pulakeśin War

Ravikīrtti, the composer of the Aihole *Praśasti*, next speaks of the debacle of Harsha, the ruler of the North, whose lotus feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of a host of his feudatories.[134] He also adds that the mirth (*Harsha*) of Harshavardhana melted away by fear, he having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants falling in the battle.[135] This clearly indicates that a battle was fought between the rulers of the North and those of the South in which Harsha lost heavily, and especially his elephant force. Further, we get information about this conflict from the account of Hiuen-Tsang[136] and the dynastic records of the Chālukyas as well. Hundreds of inscriptions of the Chālukyas,[137] the Rāshṭrakūṭas[138] and the later Chālukyas[139] do notice this clash, and the proverbial victory of Pulakeśin II, ignoring however the other victories of the South Indian monarch. This outstanding achievement of Pulakeśin II was prized so highly by the family that it is prominently mentioned in all the records of his successors, who no doubt took pride in preserving the memory of this great event.

It is mentioned in the dynastic records that after achieving this victory, Pulakeśin II adopted the title of *Parameśvara*, i.e., 'supreme lord'.[140] The Rāshṭrakūṭa records also narrate that they defeated the army of Vallabha or the *Karṇāṭaka Bala* which was boasting of its victories over the Pallavas, Keralas, Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, Harshavardhana and Vajraṭa,[141] thus indirectly confirming the claim of the Chālukyan inscriptions. Hiuen-Tsang also records this eventful feature.[142] He says that "Śilāditya has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of the country (Mo-ho-la-cha, viz., Mahārāshṭra) alone have not submitted to him.[143] He (Harsha) has gathered troops from the five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all the countries and himself gone at the head of the army to punish and subdue these people but

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he has not yet conquered their (Mo-ho-la-cha) troops."[144] Thus, the Chinese pilgrim does not boldly assert the claim of Pulakeśin's conquest over Harsha but definitely refers to Śilāditya's march against the Chālukyan monarch.[145] It is, however, presumed that since Mo-ho-la-cha, viz., Mahārāshṭra, was the only country which did not submit to Harsha's arms, probably the Chālukyan ruler proved too strong for him. Thus there is confirmation of Ravikīrtti's statement which could not be one-sided and this fact was simply copied out in later Chālukyan inscriptions.

It is also suggested that the absence of any reference to this clash in Bāṇa's works, especially in the *Harshacharita*, casts doubt on Ravikīrtti's statement.[146] This negative argument need not be overstressed, since a biographer is not expected to focus attention upon the weak spots of his patron's life.

The clash between these two contemporary rulers, no doubt, for supremacy might not have been decisive, but one has to ferret out the reason for it and suggest its probable date and location. It is proposed by Smith that the bed on the other side of the river Narmadā was so effectually protected that Harsha had no alternative but to accept it as the frontier line between the two.[147] This view was earlier mooted by R.G. Bhandarkar.[148] The extent of Harsha's empire upto the river Narmadā is, however, problematic,[149] else he, too, would have set up a strong force on his side of the river. He seems to have gone over there only on a mission of conquest, rather than subduing a close neighbour. It was, therefore, in no way a boundary dispute between the two.

Dr. R.C. Majumdar and other historians believe that the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras formed a group of the kingdoms' buffer-states between the kingdoms of Harsha and Pulakeśin II and one of the causes of Harsha's hostility to Pulakeśin was the former's conflict with the ruler of Vallabhī.[150] Incidentally, the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras figure in the Aihole *Praśasti* just before the mention of the debacle of Harsha,[151] indicating that these states probably surrendered to the South Indian monarch out of fear or threat from Harshavardhana. Moreover, we are informed by Bāṇa that these states were inimical to Prabhākaravardhana,[152] which state of enmity must have continued during the reigns of Rājyavardhana and Harsha. We

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also know that the Maukhari ruler Grahavarman, brother-in-law of Harsha, was killed by Mālavarāja.[153] In addition to it, the Mālavarāja was also instrumental in the murder of Rājyavardhana.[154] If he was the one who surrendered to Pulakeśin II, one would presume that the enmity between the two was natural. Harsha, therefore, had a grouse against Pulakeśin on this score. On the other hand, if Mālavā represented the dominion of the Maitraka ruler of Vallabhī (or Mālavā or a part of Mālavā that became part of Vallabhī), then the surrender of the Mālavas to Pulakeśin, as evinced by the Aihole *Praśasti*,[155] was the cause of friction between Harsha and his southern contemporary. We also learn from the Navsari Plates that Dadda II of the Gurjara branch of Broach rescued the Maitraka ruler of Vallabhī from the clutches of Harsha.[156] As such, the three rulers of Mālavā, Lāṭa and Gurjara seem to have surrendered to the Chālukyan ruler out of fear of Harsha. The latter had, therefore, no alternative but to take up the cudgels against these adversaries who were under the protection of Pulakeśin II. The geographical position of these kingdoms naturally involved seeking allegiance with Pulakeśin against Harsha. Whatever might have been the real course of events, it appears quite natural that these states directly or indirectly had some bearing on the conflict between the rulers of North and South.

It, however, appears that the main reason for this clash between the rulers of the North and the South was the desire for paramountcy in both.[157] Probably, Harsha desired to subdue these rulers of Gurjara, Lāṭa and Mālavā country. This evil game of Harsha prompted the western states to submit to Pulakeśin II with a view to getting his help against the common Northern adversary. Harsha, therefore, resented it and forced war on his southern contemporary.

According to Smith, the battle took place somewhere near the bank of the river Revā, i.e., Narmadā, on the assumption that Pulakeśin guarded the passes on the Narmadā so effectively that Harsha was forced to retire after facing discomfiture. He accepted the river Narmadā as the dividing line.[158] Dr. R.C. Majumdar, on the other hand, suggests there is no evidence to prove that Harsha's empire ever extended to that river.[159] Moreover, Hiuen-Tsang refers to Mālavā and Bundelkhand as independent kingdoms.[160] There is no evidence that the Lāṭas,

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Mālavas and Gurjaras ever submitted to Harsha, so it is not unlikely that the actual battle was fought much farther to the North.[161] However, in a verse just after the mention of Harsha's defeat, the Aihole *Praśasti* refers to Vindhya mountains and Revā (Narmadā),[162] which probably indicates that the battle was fought on the northern banks of the river Revā. Harsha probably sought to invade the South but was repulsed by Pulakeśin II near Revā, shattering his plans of extending his control over the Deccan.

The Date of the Harsha-Pulakeśin War

There is some controversy about the date of this event and the basis for it, when the two rulers were far away from each other's territories. There is no reference to it in the early Chālukyan records of Pulakeśin's time, while the biographer of Harsha, namely, Bāṇabhaṭṭa, has also nothing to say about it. The famous Aihole *Praśasti*, dated in the Śaka year 556=A.D. 634 specifically mentions Harsha's defeat.[163] Scholars have, no doubt, made suggestions about this clash and its date. Dubreuil, however, proposed that this conflict took place about A.D. 637-38[164] which is untenable in view of the above reference. Smith, however, proposed that it could be dated in A.D. 620[165] without assigning any cogent reason for it. The event seems to have occurred either during the first six years of Harsha's reign or nearabout the date of the Aihole *Praśasti* as presumed by several scholars.[166] It is, therefore, necessary to consider both the views as proposed by the scholars. The whole controversy centres round two main views, according to which this conflict either took place before A.D. 612-13 or between A.D. 630 and 634.[167]

Fleet proposed on the basis of the Aihole *Praśasti* that the Harsha-Pulakeśin war took place prior to A.D. 612.[168] He based his theory on the following arguments. Firstly, the Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II accord the glorious title of *Parameśvara*, i.e., 'supreme lord', to Pulakeśin II, after defeating a hostile king who had participated in a hundred battles.[169] Fleet identifies this king with Harsha of Kanauj and thought that it is suggestive of Harsha's defeat before the date of this Grant, namely, A.D. 612.[170] He further quotes Hiuen-Tsang

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that Śilāditya (Harsha) waged incessant warfare until in six years' time he had brought the five Indies under his domination and then reigned in peace without wielding any weapon for thirty years.[171] Harsha ascended the throne in A.D. 606 and he won victories in six years' time.[172] The Harsha-Pulakeśin clash was the last armed confrontation in the above series. As such, the Harsha-Pulakeśin war, according to him, took place in A.D. 612.

Fleet's views on this point are endorsed by R.K. Mukerjee, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, K. Chattopadhyaya and a few others as well.[173] Mukerjee, quoting Hiuen-Tsang, suggests that Harsha's war with Vallabhī and Pulakeśin took place[174] within A.D. 612 after which Harsha reigned for thirty years in peace. Nilakanta Sastri is, however, of opinion that the Harsha-Pulakeśin clash occurred before A.D. 612.[175] He argues that undoubtedly the Hyderabad Grant does not mention Harsha by name but records the defeat of a hostile king, consequent to which he assumed the *viruda* of *Parameśvara*. In his opinion, the later Chālukyan records dating from the time of Vikramāditya I associate the assumption of the title with the defeat of the hostile ruler of the North, namely, Harsha. This, according to the ex-Madras Professor, seems to be in conformity with the account of the Chinese pilgrim who has also mentioned that event.[176] The two also seem to have agreed to some sort of political adjustment after this conflict which was not repeated.[177]

R.S. Tripathi and A.S. Altekar, however, are opposed to so early a dating of this event.[178] They suggest that the Harsha-Pulakeśin war could not have taken place prior to A.D. 630 or later than A.D. 634,[179] the date of the Aihole *Praśasti*. According to these scholars, as this event is not mentioned in the Lohner Plates of A.D. 630[180] it is clear that the Harsha-Pulakeśin war could not have taken place prior to this date.[181] Further, in their opinion, the correctness of Watters' translation with reference to this event is also doubtful.[182] According to Tripathi, if Watters' reading be taken to be correct, how are we to reconcile the twos tatements of Yuan-Chwang, namely, that all his conquests were limited within six years, followed by an uninterrupted peace for thirty years and then the attack on Koṅgada region as late as A.D. 643.[183] Incidentally, it may be

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mentioned in support of Tripathi that Ma-twan-lin refers to Harsha engaging himself in several wars between A.D. 618 and 627.[184] Moreover, Tripathi adds that the sovereignty over the five Indies naturally means the extension of his empire as far as Odra and Ganjam which were under Śaśāṅka till A.D. 619. As such, the translations of Beal and Watters of the Chinese pilgrim's account (on this point) seem to be of a conflicting nature.[185] A recent opinion of Dr. P.C. Bagchi quoted by Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya on the basis of the original text is in favour of Watters.[186]

Taking the other aspect of the problem, Tripathi also questions Pulakeśin's capacity to take up the cudgels against Harsha, and be successful in his mission, when his own position was not secure and consolidated.[187] He had first to contain the disruptionist forces in his realm. The late Professor equally questions any relevance of the assumption of the title of *Parameśvara* by Pulakeśin to this event.[188] He, however, suggests that it might have been taken after the Chālukyan ruler's victory over his other contemporaries.[189] Later on, it was associated with the Pulakeśin-Harsha encounter and the latter's defeat.

Altekar also questions Pulakeśin's competence to face Harsha at such an early date.[190] If the Harsha-Vallabhī clash resulted in the ultimate trial of strength between the Vardhan and the Chālukyan rulers, it could not have happened earlier than A.D. 629, the earliest known date of Dadda II,[191] who had defended the Maitraka ruler in his encounter against Harsha, as is evident from the Navsārī Grant.[192] Since much stress has been laid on the adoption of the title of *Parameśvara* practically by all scholars, it is suggested by D.C. Sircar that Pulakeśin took it after defeating the smaller powers and later on this was associated with his conquest over Harsha.[193] According to him, the clash between the two could not have taken place before A.D. 629 and was preceded by the Vallabhī clash between Harsha and Dhruvabhaṭṭa in which the Gurjara king Dadda II also participated.[194]

K.C. Chattopadhyaya does not agree with the views of Tripathi, Altekar, Sircar and others and holds that the Harsha-Pulakeśin war took place before A.D. 612 and the Kongada campaign of A.D. 643 does not go against Watters' translation

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for if the thirty years' peace begins in A.D. 612, it would end in A.D. 642.[195] Thus, it would be in accordance with both the statements of Hiuen-Tsang, namely, continuous war for six years followed by a long period of peace extending to 30 years; and there does not appear to be any contradiction in the Chinese pilgrim's account, as proposed by Tripathi and others. It could as well be suggested here that Harsha might have thought of taking advantage of the fratricidal war which took place around A.D. 610 between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II,[196] but he had to face Pulakeśin, who meanwhile emerged victorious and proved a warrior of superior mettle and gave disastrous rebuff to Harsha. Now we can consider the following few points which emerge out of the above-mentioned discussion relating to the date of this historic event.

The *viruda Parameśvara* implying sovereign status as the greatest lord is not an ordinary title and, therefore, cannot be brushed aside merely by suggesting that it was taken by the Chālukyan ruler later on and adopted by his successors,[197] simply to project his inflated personality. On the other hand, it envisages the possibility of some specific and important event in his life-time. The author of the Hyderabad Grant states that it was assumed by the Southern monarch after defeating a hostile king, who had participated in a hundred battles.[198] The name of this ruler is, however, specifically mentioned in the Chālukyan records from the time of Ādityavarman, who probably succeeded Pulakeśin II some time in A.D. 642-43.[199] He was none else but Harsha, the great lord of Thaneśvara and Kanauj. This was no doubt the greatest achievement of Pulakeśin II and, as such, it is specifically mentioned in the Chālukyan records, while others are ignored. The absence of Harsha's name in the Hyderabad Inscription[200] is not inexplicable, as he alone could be credited as the hero of a hundred battles while facing the encounter with Pulakeśin. So, Fleet does not appear to be wrong in identifying the hostile king of the Hyderabad Grant with Harshavardhana of the North.[201] His defeat is not only repeated in hundreds of inscriptions of the Badami Chālukyas[202] but one also finds a clear reference to it in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records as well, despite their being inimical to the Chālukyas.[203] This event seems to have attained proverbial fame, as it is reflected in the records of the

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Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī and Lāṭa.[204]

As such, the assumption of the title of *Parameśvara* had some political and historical background behind it, even though for some inexplicable reason, it is not mentioned in the earlier records of Pulakeśin prior to the Aihole *Praśasti.* There is, however, a record of the 5th regnal year of Pulakeśin which does refer to it,[205] but its genuineness is doubtful according to some scholars,[206] though we have reasons to accept its testimony. Fleet questions its genuineness on the ground, firstly, that it accords the title of *Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda* to Pulakeśin II, which could be accorded only to a feudatory and not to a paramount sovereign.[207] Secondly, the language is defective and the formation of the characters is irregular.[208] To meet these two arguments, it could as well be proposed that there are a few records, as for instance, the famous Barah Inscription of Bhoja in which the ruler is not accorded any title. This might have been due to the scribe's ignorance and not a wilful act implying a low status, when we do find the other high-sounding regal titles associated with this ruler.[209] As regards the language and character formation,[210] these too need not be taken so seriously. Altekar has correctly suggested that even though the language and letters might not be uniform, but the events recorded appear to be correct.[211] If such be the case, we do find that the Harsha-Pulakeśin war took place before the 5th year of the latter's reign. The editor of the Kaṇḍalagaon Plates further informs us that the seal attached to the plates is genuine, with the royal *varāha* insignia properly standing to the right.[212]

As such, the war between Harsha and Pulakeśin seems to have taken place before the 5th regnal year of Pulakeśin II, viz., before A.D. 615. The initiative was taken by Harsha, as suggested by Hiuen-Tsang.[213] This clearly suggests that Harsha wished to contain the power of the South Indian monarch. The motive behind the adventurous move on the part of Harsha is not very clear. It may be proposed here that since the clash took place within the first few years of his reign, when the young ruler was engaged in finding out the whereabouts of his sister and avenging the murder of his brother,[214] it must have been related to that. It is likely that Pulakeśin had granted shelter to some of Harsha's adversaries—might be the ruler of

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Mālavā and that was a good enough excuse for him to cross sword with Pulakeśin II.

It may as well be mentioned here that since Hiuen-Tsang refers to Mālavā,[215] Gurjara[216] and Maitraka rulers[217] as independent ones, these could not be taken as such in the context of the Harsha-Pulakeśin war, as presumed by several scholars. Harsha seems to have fought with them much later in his life, probably when he was old enough to give his grown-up daughter in marriage to Vallabhī ruler Dhruvabhaṭṭa.[218] The Aihole *Praśasti* seems to record Pulakeśin's achievement in chronological order and not in the order of importance, since Āppāyika and Govinda figure earlier than the clash with the hero of the hundred battles.[219] If the evidence from the Māruṭūru Grant is also taken in that sequence, then the capture of Pishtapura, capital of Veṅgi, took place in the 8th regnal year,[220] preceded by the conquest of Kośala and Kaliṅga probably in the sixth or seventh year. The clash with Harsha probably took place prior to it, as this event figures earlier in the Aihole *Praśasti*.[221] Thus the Kaṇḍalagaon Plates dated in the 5th regnal year do refer to Harsha's defeat, prior to the issue of the plates.[222] The Lohner Plates of A.D. 630 which are silent about this achievement of Pulakeśin II are only a land grant[223] and the absence of any historical information need not be construed to be anything serious on this point. It may, therefore, be concluded that the Hasha-Pulakeśin clash took place roughly about A.D. 612 in the last phase of Harsha's military campaign. It is quite likely that there might have been more than one clash between these two powers, as is suggested by S. Chattopadhyaya,[224] firstly, in the beginning of Pulakeśin's reign and, secondly, in the last few years of the Chālukyan ruler's lifetime, but on this point there is paucity of evidence to say anything conclusive. As Harsha's expedition related to the priorities in the beginning of his reign, it is reasonable to believe that the Harsha-Pulakeśin war referred to in the Aihole *Praśasti* took place before the issue of the Hyderabad Plates, i.e., A.D. 613.

In spite of the categorical assertion of Ravikīrtti about the debacle of Harsha, some modern scholars suggest that Harsha crossed the Narmadā and penetrated further south in his mission of conquest.[225] B.N. Sharma, relying on a local tradition

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alleged to be prevalent near Jabalpur, suggests that Harsha might have concluded honourable peace with Pulakeśin in order to push his march further south or he might have led this expedition deep into the south after the death of Pulakeśin II.[226] Before analysing the truth of the above expression, it would be better to discuss the basis of the above suggestions. Sastri invited the attention of scholars towards a stanza said to be of Mayūra, the father-in-law of Bāṇa, making a reference to the southern conquest of Harsha.[227] According to this stanza, Harsha conquered the territories of Kuntala, Chola, Madhyadeśa and Kāñchī.[228] These scholars find corroboration of their suggestions in the testimony of the Gaddemane Inscription.[229] In the language of this record, "while Śilāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful and a thorn in the way of the bravest, ascended the throne of the empire, Peṭṭāni Satyānkā, a brave soldier, capable of destroying enemies in the battlefield, pierced through the thick of the battle with the brave Bedara Rāya so as to cause frightfulness of Mahendra and reached the abode of the *svarga*."[230] Sastri equates this Śilāditya with Harshavardhana and Mahendra with the Pallava ruler Mahendravarman I of Kāñchī for namesake on the basis of this record.[231] Saletore, on the other hand, identifies Śilāditya with the ruler of Vallabhī,[232] while Dr. R.C. Majumdar equates this Śilāditya with Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya of the Lāṭa branch of the Chālukyas and Mahendra with Mahendravarman II, the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī.[233]

It is, thus, evident that the Pallava ruler Mahendravarman I or II was the ruler, who had to face Śilāditya in a struggle leading to the death of the hero Peṭṭāni Satyānkā in whose honour the Gaddemane record was set up.[234] As regards the identity of the ruler called Śilāditya, opinion seems to be divided. If the river Narmadā had served as the boundary line between Harsha's and Pulakeśin's kingdoms, there could not be the slightest possibility of the latter agreeing to let his adversary march through his territory for his conquest further south. Since the Chālukyan ruler himself had not taken this title (Śilāditya), the credit for this conquest does not go to him. It is likely that this conquest was achieved by Śryāśraya Yuvarāja Śilāditya, probably the son of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha of the Lāṭa branch, as is evident from the Navsārī Plates.[235] He was

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a subordinate of Vinayāditya and probably accompanied the latter on his expeditions against the Pallava Mahendravarman II. The reference to Mayūra is interesting. It is presumed to be a poetic illusion and it has no relevance to historical facts.[236] The evidence at our disposal makes it clear that Harsha probably did not dare to cross the Narmadā, and as such the question of his conquering Kāñchī and Kuntala does not arise.

The earlier phase of Pulakeśin's conquests was not confined merely to the clash with Harsha or with the rulers named Āppāyika and Govinda, but he seems to have consolidated his hold over the entire region, south of the river Revā or Narmadā. It is clear that the whole of the western and upper Deccan formed part of his empire by A.D. 613. After the reference to the defeat of Harshavardhana, Ravikīrtti narrates the presence of the army of Pulakeśin II in the vicinity of the Vindhya mountains near Revā, identified with the river Narmadā.[237] Immediately afterwards, we find Ravikīrtti referring to the result of above-mentioned expeditions and conquests. Pulakeśin, almost equal to Indra by virtue of his noble birth and excellent kingly qualities, acquired the sovereignty of three Mahārāshṭras consisting of ninety-nine thousand villages.[238] As regards the identification of the three Mahārāshṭras, there is difference of opinion. One scholar suggests that these could be Vidarbha, Kuntala and Mahārāshṭra,[239] while Dr. Sircar takes them to be Mahārāshṭra, Koṅkaṇa and Karṇāṭa.[240] It is likely that the term signified the three parts or divisions of the then existing Pulakeśin's empire.[241] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri suggests that this empire included the region between the rivers Narmadā and Tāpti comprising the modern Betul district and its neighbourhood in Madhya Pradesh.[242]

Conquest of Eastern and Southern Deccan

After consolidating his position in the three Mahārāshṭras, Pulakeśin II diverted his attention towards the eastern Deccan, where lay the kingdom of Kośala and Kaliṅga. According to Ravikīrtti, he marched against the rulers of Kośala and Kaliṅga who easily submitted to him without offering any resistance.[243] Kośala definitely refers to Dakshiṇa Kośala, which comprised the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh and the

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Sambalpur district of Orissa.[244] It was at that time ruled by the Pāṇḍuvamśi kings of Southern Kośala and Mekala. According to Dr. Sircar, the defeated ruler of Kośala was Bālārjuna Śivagupta *alias* Mahāśivagupta, who flourished about the early part of the seventh century A.D.[245] There does not appear to be anything definite, since Ravikīrtti has not mentioned the name or even the title of this ruler of Kośala who was subdued by Pulakeśin II. He only refers to this ruler surrendering himself to Pulakeśin II and accepting him as his supreme lord.

The territory of Kaliṅga lay to the south of Kośala which roughly corresponds to present Berhampur district and some parts of Ganjam district in Orissa and Srikakulam and Vishakhapattam districts of Andhra Pradesh.[246] During this period, Kaliṅga was ruled by the Eastern Gaṅgas, whose capital was Kaliṅganagara, identified with present Mukhalingam in Ganjam district.[247] It is not possible to name the actual ruler as the initial year of the Gaṅga era itself is problematic.[248] Ravikīrtti is also silent on this point.

Defeat of the Vishṇukuṇḍins

It may as well be mentioned here that the ruler of Kaliṅga was probably under the influence of the Vishṇukuṇḍins of Andhra Pradesh, as proposed by Sastri.[249] As such, the trial of strength between the Chālukyas and the Vishṇukuṇḍins was inevitable. This actually happened, as it is recorded by Ravikīrtti in the Aihole *Praśasti*. According to him, Pulakeśin II first stormed Pishṭapura which he captured.[250] The capture of Pishṭapura, i.e., modern Pithāpuram, is also confirmed by the evidence of the Māruṭūru Grant of Pulakeśin II.[251] Later on, a fierce battle was fought near Kunala lake, identified with the famous Coloir lake (Kolleru) near Ellora. Its water, according to the poet, had turned red with the blood of those who were killed in the war.[252] Curiously enough, Ravikīrtti did not record anything about the ruling house of Pishṭapura[253] and the enemy defeated at the battle fought near Coloir lake in Andhra Pradesh. However, it is believed that these encounters relate to the Vishṇukuṇḍins and their neighbours, who wielded enough power during this period in Āndhra. It is thus clear that there

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was a stiff fight, as recorded by Ravikīrtti and the Vishṇukuṇḍins and their allies gave a heroic fight before losing their independence. This conquest is also corroborated by the Kopparam Plates of A.D. 631 which record a grant of land in the Karmarāshṭra (i.e., northern part of Nellore and southern parts of Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh) by Prithivīyuvarāja, i.e., Vishṇuvardhana, younger brother of the Chālukyan monarch.[254] The Chālukyan empire expanded as a result of this conquest and extended from Vishakhapattam to Southern Nellore.[255]

According to Sircar, the defeated ruler was Vikramendravarman III, who ruled between A.D. 620 and 631.[256] This suggestion of Dr. Sircar, however, appears to be untenable because of the testimony of the Mārutūru Plates of Pulakeśin II.[257] It records the capture of Pishṭapura, the capital of Veṅgi, by Pulakeśin II before the latter's 8th regnal year, viz., A.D. 617-18.[258] This would rule out the possibility of his clash with Vikramendravarman III who comes later.[259] It is, therefore, suggested that it was Indravarman Vishṇukuṇḍin (A.D. 590-620) ruling over Veṅgi at that time. He seems to have accepted Pulakeśin's supremacy and thus there was no opportunity for Pulakeśin II to appoint anybody as his viceroy over this region immediately after its conquest.[260]

There is no evidence to sustain the usual belief that Pulakeśin II conquered the country around Veṅgi from the Pallavas.[261] Epigraphic evidence, however, suggests that the area around Veṅgi was under the Vishṇukuṇḍin rulers of South Eastern Deccan.[262] Equally there is no other evidence to prove whether Pulakeśin appointed his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana as the governor of the area immediately after this military expedition or allowed the Vishṇukuṇḍin ruler to continue in his position as a feudatory.[263] On the other hand, it seems that Pulakeśin parcelled out his newly acquired territories in Andhra Pradesh to some of his feudatories, as is evident from the Mārutūru Plates.[264] According to this record, the Alūka king, who was one of the traditional feudatories of the Chālukyas, came to Kallūra from Maṅgalapura (identified with modern Maṅgalagiri in Guntur) to take up administrative control after undergoing many hardships on the way.[265] It took place immediately after the capture of Pishṭapura by Pulakeśin

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II, i.e., in A.D. 617-18.

The Southern Campaign of Pulakeśin II

If the events recorded in the Aihole *Praśasti* are taken into chronological sequence, the next target of Pulakeśin II was the territory of the Pallavas of Kāñchī. Their kingdom lay to the south of the Vishṇukuṇḍin kingdom which was overrun by Pulakeśin II.[266] This has led scholars to believe that the loss of the buffer state of the Vishṇukuṇḍins to the Chālukyas only embittered their relations with the Pallavas, and the estrangement continued for a long time.[267] There were a number of clashes that followed between these two southern powers with indecisive results. In fact, Ravikīrtti, the composer of the Aihole *Praśasti*, admits the growing power of the Pallavas, even rivalling that of the Chālukyas.[268] The expression in the Aihole *Praśasti* "*ākrāntatmabalonnatīm*" is taken by Hultzsch to mean that the Pallavas were opposed to rise of the Chālukyan power under Pulakeśin[269] and were bent upon containing their prowess. It is as well proposed that since the Vishṇukuṇḍins were the allies of the Pallavas, the defeat of the former was too serious a matter to be ignored by the latter.[270] As such, the Pallavas had good reasons to oppose Pulakeśin's pressure further south. Actually the Chālukyas were interested in their political supremacy and therefore a clash between these two powers was a necessity pressed by circumstances rather than by some individual event or factor.

The Battle of Pallalūra

It appears that Pulakeśin had made elaborate arrangements for his expedition against the Pallavas of Kāñchī, utilising his sixfold army consisting of hereditary troops filled with heroism and energy, as pointed out by the poet.[271] He was successful against the Pallavas who were forced to go behind the walls of Kāñchīpura.[272] The vanquished Pallava ruler was none else but Mahendravarman I. They were, however, not fully subjugated.[273] It is proposed by some scholars that the Kasakuḍi Grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, referring to Mahendravarman I annihilating an unnamed enemy force, refers to the

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Pallava-Chālukya clash at Pallalūra.[274] This, however, seems improbable in view of the victorious role of the Chālukyan army[275] and its push further south against the Cholas, Keralas, and Pāṇḍyas. What was supposed to be the military expedition of Pulakeśin against the southern powers was only an attempt to subjugate them rather than deprive them of their political independence. The battle referred to in the Kasakuḍi Plates might have been fought between the Pallavas and the Western Gaṅgas.[276] As such the enemy referred to in the Kasakuḍi Plates may not be the Chālukyas at all.

As regards the date of the Pallava-Chālukya clash mentioned above and the Pallava ruler involved therein, it may be mentioned that he could not be Narasiṁhavarman as supposed by some scholars[277] for he ascended the throne in A.D. 630.[278] According to the Mārutūru Grant, the conquest of Veṅgi was accomplished in or about A.D. 617-18[279] and so the clash immediately following it must have happened in about A.D. 618-19 or so. As such, it was Pallava ruler named Mahendravarman (A.D. 600-630), who had to face the brunt of Pulakeśin's incursions in the South.

Pulakeśin did not attempt to cross the Kāveri for strategic reasons and communication difficulties. He, therefore, proposed befriending the Southern powers, as recorded by Ravikīrtti.[280] The composer refers to the great prosperity of these states.[281] Later on things changed. As soon as Pulakeśin returned to his capital,[282] the Pallavas were not slow to take the initiative in befriending their neighbours, and put up a joint force against the Chālukyan ruler of Vāṭāpi. Although Ravikīrtti is silent on this point, the later Chālukyan records do furnish information about the later clashes and also suggest the role of these powers in the subsequent Pallava-Chālukyan struggle.[283]

After his widespread military exploits, as recorded in the Aihole *Praśasti*, Pulakeśin II became the sovereign ruler with an extensive empire, bounded by oceans on its three sides,[284] and crowned by the Vindhyās in the North. His capital Vāṭāpi is described as being girdled by the river Chancha.[285] In those days of difficult means of communications, it was not physically possible to administer this vast empire directly from the headquarters. Therefore, Pulakeśin had to parcel out his empire amongst the members of his family as well as loyal feudatories. However, some of the defeated rulers were actually restored to

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their respective territories as subordinates.

This was the political situation as recorded in the Aihole *Praśasti*. There is no information in this record for the period following it, viz., between A.D. 634 and 642, when the Chālukyan ruler was probably killed by the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I, whose father had suffered at the hands of Pulakeśin II. The Chālukyan-Pallava struggle was not a passing phase but it continued for a very long time.[286] In order to assess the political situation preceding the Pallava invasion and the burning of the Chālukyan capital, it might be necessary to record the arrangements made by Pulakeśin II to look after his far-flung territories.

Pulakeśin II appointed his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana as governor of the Veḷvola, i.e., Southern Maratha Country, with the title of Yuvarāja, according to the Satara Plates dated in his 8th regnal year.[287] He seems to have continued in that position for some time and later on was appointed governor of the newly conquered area of Veṅgi before A.D. 631, the date of the Kopparam Plates.[288] The reason for doing so must have been the political situation at that time necessitating the posting of a trusted kinsman at a strategic and vulnerable point to rule out any aggression. However, in the Chirupalli Plates dated A.D. 641 and in the 18th year, very probably of his governorship, Vishṇuvardhana asserted his independence.[289] Scholars have, however, suggested that Vishṇuvardhana had received the kingdom of Veṅgi by way of reward from his elder brother and he was an independent ruler.[290] According to them, this happened somewhere about A.D. 630 before the date of the Kopparam Plates.[291] This does not appear to be probable since in that set of plates, Vishṇuvardhana is styled only as a Yuvarāja and Pulakeśin as the ruling sovereign. One feels diffident in suggesting that Vishṇuvardhana declared his independence in the life-time of his brother, to whom he owed everything in his entire political career.

Besides Vishṇuvardhana, who had declared his independence after the death of Pulakeśin II, the other person who too probably did likewise was Chālukya Vijayavarman, son of Buddhavarman.[292] His Kaira Plates dated in A.D. 643 record his donation of a village to a *Brāhmaṇa* in the Kheḍa district without any reference to the Chālukyan sovereign.[293] It seems

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natural to presume on the basis of the Kaira Plates that Pulakeśin II probably appointed this Chālukyan prince to administer the Gujarat (Lāṭa) territories of the Chālukyan empire. We do not have any information about his actual relationship with the king. The Koṅkaṇa and adjoining regions were administered by the Sendraka prince Senānandarāja, maternal uncle of Pulakeśin II, as the feudatory of the Chālukyas.[294] The Sendrakas throughout remained loyal to the Chālukyas. The region of Khandesh and other adjoining areas were ruled by the family of Allaśakti, as is recorded in the Abhona and Kasare Plates, who though accorded feudatory titles did not refer to the Chālukyan overlord.[295]

Pallava-Chālukyan Clash Again

The indecisive nature of the first campaign against the Pallavas and Pulakeśin's return to the capital followed by Narasiṁhavarman's accession to the throne,[296] prompted Pulakeśin II to measure his strength once again with the Southern powers, especially the Pallavas. It is presumed on the basis of the Kasakuḍi Plates that Pulakeśin could not besiege Kāñchī and vanquish the Pallavas,[297] though the Aihole *Praśasti* does refer to the southern enemy retreating behind the ramparts of the Pallava capital.[298] Even his further push in the South was uneventful in the sense that it did not involve permanent annexation or domination over the territories of the Cholas, Keralas and the Pāṇḍyas.[299] The occasion was, therefore, ripe for him to avail himself of another opportunity to extend his area of conquest, consequent to the death of an old adversary.

According to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, Pulakeśin II first started against the Bāṇas, who were the feudatories of the Pallavas, as is evident from some Stone Inscriptions found in Anantpur district.[300] After overrunning their kingdom, he moved against the Pallavas and once again threatened their capital. In the clash between the two at several places, prominently at Pariyāla,[301] Śūramāra[302] and Maṇimaṅgala, about 20 miles to the east of Kāñchīpura,[303] the Pallavas appeared to have had an upper hand over the Chālukyas.[304]

As Pulakeśin's name is associated with the Kopparam Grant made by Vishṇuvardhana in the year A.D. 631,[305] some scholars

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have presumed that Pulakeśin had visited Veṅgi with a mission of conquest in that year and that was the reason for his clash with Pallava Narasiṁhavarman.[306] This appears to be conjectural. It appears more probable that Narasiṁhavarman was interested, as is natural, in regaining control over the territory lost to the Chālukyas in the time of his father. This resulted in a retaliation from the Chālukyan monarch. In view of the clash taking place nearer the Pallava capital at Maṇimaṅgala, it is difficult to believe that the initiative was taken by the Pallava ruler. It could be possible only if Pulakeśin had pushed his arms once again near to the Pallava metropolis, planning to besiege and finally to capture it. While the Chālukyan records are silent on this point, the Pallava records do point to the clashes at Pariyāla, Maṇimaṅgala and Sūramāra with the southern ruler repulsing the Chālukyan adversary in all three battles.[307] This was only the beginning of the Pallavas' victory over the Chālukyas.

It appears that Pulakeśin's defeat resulted in the walk-over of his southern allies to the camp of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman,[308] who availed himself of their help in finally dealing a crushing blow to the Chālukyan lord. This must have happened between A.D. 634, the date of the Aihole *Praśasti*, and A.D. 642-43, the date of Pulakeśin's death. The Pallava allies fighting against the Chālukyas had to pay dearly for their shift of allegiance, for we learn from the records of Vikramāditya I that he defeated not only the Pallavas but also their allies described as *avanīpatitritaya*, viz., Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas.[309] The Pallava-Chālukyan clash lingered on for quite some time and finally ended in the siege of Vāṭāpi and assassination of Pulakeśin II. This was another trial of strength between the two which took place after the visit of Hiuen-Tsang. It is natural to presume that absence of any reference to it in the pilgrim's account was not deliberate but because the event had not occurred in his time, or earlier than his visit to the country of the ruler.

Visit of Hiuen-Tsang

Before the end of Pulakeśin II's reign, the Chinese pilgrim visited Mo-ha-la-cha, i.e., Mahārāshṭra, after a visit to Kāñchī-

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pura. The way Hiuen-Tsang describes the might and kingdom of Pulakeśin II[310] suggests that Pulakeśin II was not only alive but was also at the zenith of his glory and supremacy. Hence his fight with Narasiṁhavarman resulting in his disastrous end was an event later than the pilgrim's visit after A.D. 641.[311] Hiuen-Tsang not only narrates the warlike qualities of the people of Mahārāshṭra but also says that the land was fertile and regularly cultivated, thus pointing to the economic prosperity of the Chālukyan empire.[312] According to him, the king was Po-le-ke-she, a Kshatriya by birth, whose sway extended far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty.[313] Further, according to him, the people of Mahārāshṭra were learned, hard-working and of a high moral stature, benevolent to those who helped them in need and equally furious at those who humiliated them.[314] Besides this, he furnishes several details about the army and the warrior-like qualities of Pulakeśin's gallant soldiers.[315]

Pulakeśin II had also contacts with the outside world. A Persian historian Tabarī (A.D. 838-923) refers to some ambassadorial contacts between the Persian ruler Khusru Perviz II (A.D. 609-628) and the Indian king Pramesha, Pharmis, i.e., *Parameśvara* (Pulakeśin II) in the 26th year of the former's reign.[316] The Muslim historian informs us that the Indian monarch sent costly presents and letters to the Persian ruler and his sons.[317] It seems that this action resulted in the return embassy to the Chālukyan Court, which is depicted in cave No. 1 at Ajanta.[318] Some scholars doubt the above assumption[319] but there is little evidence to brush it aside. According to Percy Brown, cave No. 1 at Ajanta belonged to a period between A.D. 600 and 625[320] and this makes the cave contemporary to the event.

The End

Soon after the visit of Hiuen-Tsang, it seems that the Pallava-Chālukya clash was revived. Narasiṁhavarman once again took the help of his southern allies against Pulakeśin II and pushed his way into the Chālukyan dominions. His success in the battles at Pariyāla, Maṇimaṅgala and Śūramāra helped him in his offensive campaign against the Chālukyas,[321]

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and settle scores with the Chālukyan lord for the disgrace he had once to bear. It is not known where the final battle was fought, but it is evident from the Pallava records that Pulakeśin II was probably killed in action resulting in the capture of Badami by the Pallava general Śiṟuttoṇḍār Parañjoti.[322] In this clash, the Pallava ruler was also assisted by Mānavarman of Ceylon.[323] The Pallava conquest and capture of the Chālukyan capital is confirmed by the title of '*Vāṭāpi-Koṇḍa*', i.e., 'victor of Vāṭāpi' or taker of Vāṭāpi, accorded to Narasiṁhavarman in the Pallava Inscriptions.[324] Moreover, the Pallava records also describe that Narasiṁhavarman had written the word 'Victory' on the back of the Chālukyan army, visible while fleeing from the battlefield.[325] The Pallava victory is further corroborated from an inscription recorded at the back portion of the Mallikārjuna Temple at Vāṭāpi belonging to the 13th regnal year of Narasiṁhavarman[326] which corresponds to A.D. 642-43, probably engraved after the capture and burning of the Chālukyan metropolis to avenge the humiliation suffered by the Pallava king Mahendravarman at the hands of Pulakeśin II.[327] As the Chālukyan epigraphs are silent on this point and we do not hear anything about Pulakeśin after this event, it is reasonable to believe that he was killed in this Pallava-Chālukyan clash.[328] Fleet concluded on the joint testimony of the Kaira Plates of Vijayavarman and the Kasare Plates of Allaśakti that Pulakeśin died in A.D. 642-43.[329] There is no evidence at our disposal to disprove this suggestion, and the Pallava Inscription of Narasiṁhavarman at Badami in the 13th regnal year corresponding to A.D. 643[330] confirms the death of Pulakeśin before that date and the Pallava hold over Badami in that year.

Pulakeśin was not only the greatest Chālukyan monarch of Badami, but also a distinguished warrior who converted the Chālukyan kingdom into an extensive empire. At the time of his death, his empire included practically the whole of the trans-Vindhyan regions of India except the territory of the Pallavas and that of a few southern powers further South. His empire included a sizeable portion of Gujarat. He wielded supremacy over Mālavā and the adjoining territories. His fall was sudden and disastrous for the Chālukyas. At the time of his death in A.D. 642-43, the Chālukyas were at the acme of their glory.

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NOTES

1. तस्याग्रजस्य तनये नहुषानुमावेलक्ष्म्यां किलाभिलषिते पोलकेशिनाम्नि ।
   सासूयमात्मानि भवन्तमत पितृव्यम शात्वापरुद्ध चरितव्यवसाय बुद्धौ ।।
   EI, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 14. The verse may also be interpreted to mean that when Pulakeśin II found that his regent-uncle was envious of the former at the occasion for his accession, he determined to make efforts for checking his uncle's (evil) designs.
2. ज्येष्ठभ्रातुः सतिसुतवरेप्य भकित्वादशवतेर्यस्मिन्नात्म न्यकृतहिधुरं मंगलीशः पृथिव्या तस्मिञ्प्रत्यापिपदथम ही यूनि सत्याश्रये सौ चलुक्यानों कइव हि पथो धर्मतः प्रच्यवेत ।। *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 17; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 184; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 211; *DKD*, p. 346, Note 4.
3. सयदुपचित मंत्रोत्साह शक्ति प्रयोगं क्षपति बलविशेषो मगंलेशस्समन्तात ।
   स्वतनयगत राज्यारंभ यत्नेन सछिम निजमतनु चराज्यजीवितचोज्झतिस्म ।।
   EI, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 15.
4. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 211; *KTA*, p. 202; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 77.
5. *DKD*, pp. 347-48; *EHDB*, p. 59; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 211; *CA*, p. 235; *HK*, p. 95; *KTA*, p. 202.
6. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9, v. 15.
7. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 14; *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f, Vol. XVIII, p. 257f. *ABORI*, p. 43f. "चालुक्यकुलतिलकः सर्वसदगुणाश्रयां रिपुदरिद्रश्रीं सत्याश्रयो नाम" *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f.
8. *DKD*, p. 351; *Karnāṭaka Darshana*, p. 32.
9. समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वर श्रीहर्षवर्धन पराजयोपलब्ध परमेश्वर शब्दालंकृतस्य, *ASWI*, Vol. II, p. 15; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 223f; *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 66f. सकलोत्तरापथेश्वर श्रीहर्षवर्धन पराजयोपलब्ध परमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्य, *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 215.
10. समरशतसंघट्टसंसक्तपर-नृपतिपराजयोपलब्ध परमेश्वरापरनाम ध्येयः, *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
11. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, pp. 255-56; *Life*, p. 146; *Travels*, p. 239.
12. *Ajanta*, pp. 44 & 49; *FNSI*, p. 9; *IAP*, p. 69; *JRAS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 79; *JIH*, Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 32-33; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 217; *DKD*, p. 352.
13. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f.
14. *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 293f.
15. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 211; *DKD*, p. 338; *CA*, p. 228.
16. *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 6-9.
17. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 72-75.
18. Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 330-31.
19. Ibid., XXX, p. 216, No. 27.
20. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 11-39.
21. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 303-11.
22. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol.

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XXVII, pp. 37-41.

23. *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257-60.
24. Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II, *IA*, Vol. V, p. 67f, Vol. VIII, p. 237f; *ASWI*, Vol. II, p. 129f; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
25. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11.
26. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 40-45.
27. *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 50-53; *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 43-44.
28. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f.
29. *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.
30. *ARASI*, 1935-36 p. 103; *ARSIE*, 1935-36, No. E100, p. 169.
31. *SII*, Vol. IX, p. 53, No. 30.
32. *SII*, Vol. IX, pp. 25-27, No. 46.
33. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 103-04, Vol. IX, pp. 293-95.
34. Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 216-218, Nos. 25 & 37.
35. Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 103f.
36. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 293f.
37. *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 17f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 74-77.
38. *HPK*, Appendix A, pp. 164-214.
39. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, pp. 255-59; *Life*, pp. 146-47; *Travels*, 239-40.
40. *JRAS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 79; *FNSI*, p. 9; *IAP*, p. 69; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 217; *DKD*, p. 352; *IDRE*, pp. 174-181.
41. *Ajanta*, pp. 44-47; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 17; *IDRE*, pp. 174-180; *SHK*, Vol. I, p. 48f.
42. आत्मनः प्रवर्धमान राज्याभिषेक संवत्सरे तृतीये शक नृपति संवत्सर शतेषु चतुस्त्रिंशाधिकेषु पन्च शतीशेषु भाद्रपदामावास्यांयां सूर्यग्रहण निमित्तम् । *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72.
43. *IE*, Vol. II, p. 222.
44. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f; *DKD*, p. 356; *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 14.
45. *DKD*, p. 356 & Note 3; *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 14; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 19.
46. *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, Part IV, p. 5; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 19.
47. Bhandarkar believed that Pulakeśin II had ascended the throne in the Śaka year 533 or A.D. 611 (*EHDB*, p. 60). Nandimatha believes that Pulakeśin II was crowned in the latter part of the year A.D. 609 (*KTA*, p. 203), while Sircar believes that he ascended the throne in A.D. 610-11 (*CA*, p. 237). Desai and others believe that Maṅgaleśa was killed in A.D. 610 and soon thereafter Pulakeśin II became ruler (*HK*, p. 95).
48. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f. Nandimatha believes that Maṅgaleśa was killed in A.D. 608 (*KTA*, p. 203). Fleet also believed it and was of opinion that there was a gap of a year or so between the death of Maṅgaleśa and the actual *rājyābhisheka* of Pulakeśin II. *DKD*, p. 348.
49. Ante, p. 81.
50. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f; Ante, p. 81.
51. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 11-39.
52. Ibid., p. 22.
53. "ज्येष्ठमासस्यामावास्यां सूर्य-ग्रहणे", *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 37.
54. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 22.
55. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
56. There are a few other inscriptions which seem to support the Hyderabad Grant on this point. These include the

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Yekkeri Stone Inscription dated on *Kārttika Purṇimā* of Pulakeśin's first regnal year. Now taking the data from the Hyderabad Grant dated in the third year of this monarch and in the Śaka year 534, we find that *Kārttika Purṇimā* fell in the first (?) regnal year on October 8 or November 6, A.D. 610, in the Śaka year 532. Therefore, the first year of Pulakeśin's reign might accordingly be fixed in Śaka 532=A.D. 610 and the *Kārttika Purṇimā* in this year fell on October 8 or November 6 taking the *Amānta* or *Pūrnimānta* systems of months, respectively.

57. As indicated earlier, the actual words in the Goa Plates, "वर्द्धमानविजय राज्यसंवत्सर विशतिमं शककाल पंच वर्ष-शतानि द्वात्रिशानि" indicate that the Śaka year mentioned in it is current. The absence of the term *atīteshu* in it further proves the above surmise. The presence of the above term in the Hyderabad Grant makes that record dated in the expired year.

58. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f.

59. तावत्तच्छत्र भंगे जगदखिल भरात्यन्धकारोपरुद्ध यस्यासह्य प्रतापद्युतिततिभिरवाक्रान्तमा-सीत्प्रभातम् । *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 16.

60. लब्ध्वा कालभुवमुपगते जैतुमा-प्यायिकाख्ये गोविन्देच्य विर-दिनिकरै रुत्तरभिमरथ्य यस्यांनीकै युधिभयरसज्ञत्वंमेक प्रयात तत्रावाप्तम्फल मुपकृतस्या परेणापि सद्यः ।। *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 17.

61. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

62. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 9. As Ravikīrtti states that Āppāyika and Govinda tried to win the territory of Pulakeśin II from the north of river Bhīmā, it points to their seat in the northern regions of Pulakeśin's kingdom, i.e., in the Maharashtra area known as Southern Maratha country. They seem to have been ruling over the Satara, Kolhapur and the adjoining regions of present Maharashtra. Sastri considers them military adventurers having no claims to royalty. This does not appear to be in conformity with available evidence. They seem to belong to some ruling family holding sway over present Satara and Kolhapur regions of Maharashtra. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 212.

63. *EHDB*, p. 60, Note 2. Bhandarkar also held that Āppāyika had advanced towards Pulakeśin's kingdom with horses; this is not in conformity with the text. The use of the word *dvirada*, i.e., elephant, is quite clear. As regards the rulers, Fleet accepted his contention which is in conformity with the text of the Aihole *Praśasti*. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 242; *DKD*, p. 350, Note 2.

64. *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 151f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 76; *DKD*, p. 345; *AHD*, p. 11; *CA*, p. 229; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 206; *HK*, p. 92.

65. *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 63f; *MASR*, 1929, p. 197.

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66. *SEDSI*, p. 184; *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, p. 42; *CA*, pp. 199-201.
67. *CA*, p. 201.
68. *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 212f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
69. Ellora Plates of Dantidurga. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 108f; *HK*, p. 111; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 249, 251-56, *KTA*, p. 233.
70. *CA*, p. 201; *DKD*, pp. 385-86.
71. *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 15f; Vol. VIII, p. 11f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 76.
72. *EHDB*, p. 70; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 251; *DKD*, p. 386, Note 1; *CA*, p. 235.
73. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 108f; *SKH*, Vol. I, pp. 57-58.
74. वरदातुंग तरंगरंगविलसद्हंसावली मेखलां वनवासीमव मृग्दतस्सुर पुर प्रस्पार्द्धनीं सम्पदां। महतायस्य बलाण्र्णवेन परितस्यंछ दितोव्वींतलं स्थल दुर्ग्गजल दुर्ग्गतामिव गतं तत्तत्क्षणो पश्यताम ॥
EI, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 18.
75. *DKD*, p. 350; *CA*, p. 273, *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *KK*, pp. 33, 56, 61-63 & 75; *KTA*, p. 113; *HK*, p. 63. This fact is evident from the phrase found narrated along with the name of Kīrttivarman I in Chālukyan epigraphs of Ādityavarman and Vikramāditya I onwards.
76. पराक्रमाक्रान्त वनवास्यादि परनृपतिमंडल प्रणिवद्ध विशुद्ध कीर्तिः *CA*, pp. 232-33; *HK*, pp. 62-64; *KTA*, p. 113; *DKD*, p. 285; *KK*, p. 61.
77. This is apparent from the description of Ravikīrtti of the metropolis of the Kadambas, which rivalled the city of gods and the reference to their fort. As it was the question of their survival the Kadambas must have resisted the invader with the full might at their command. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 212-13.
78. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 212-13; *KK*, p. 282.
79. *KK*, pp. 63 & 70; *CA*, p. 273.
80. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 34; *KK*, pp. 76-77.
81. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 52; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 145; *KK*, p. 76.
82. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 19.
83. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 213.
84. *CA*, p. 235; R. Sathianathaier believes that they ruled over the Tulava country (South Kanara) with their capital at Uadayavara, South of Udipi (*CA*, p. 275).
85. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 34 and 37-38.
86. *CA*, p. 235.
87. गंगालुपेन्द्रा व्यवसानि सप्तहित्वा पुरोपार्ज्जितसम्पदोपि, *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 19.
88. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 17; *DKD*, p. 345; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *CA*, pp. 232 and 275.
89. *KK*, p. 76.
90. *KK*, pp. 75-76.
91. *MCTI*, p. 61 (also quoted by Moraes, *KK*, p. 76).
92. *KK*, p. 77. The Alūpa king Guṇasāgara is also known to us from the Sorab Grant of Vinayāditya dated A.D. 692, which refers to the gift of land at the request of Alūpa Chitravāhana, son of Guṇasāgara. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p 152. It appears almost certain, on the basis of the joint testimony of the Sorab and Harihara Plates of Vinayāditya, that the family names of Alūka and

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Alūpa are identical. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 152, Vol. VI, p. 91f.

93. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 34 and 37.
94. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 19.
95. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.
96. *MASR*, 1912, paras 65-69 as quoted by Moraes in *KK*, p. 55, Note 5; *KTA*, p. 118; *CA*, p. 269; *SSLD*, pp. 299-302.
97. *KTA*, p. 119.
98. *KK*, pp. 56-58; *HK*, p. 68.
99. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 213; *HSI*, p. 148.
100. *KK*, pp. 55 and 58-59.
101. *EC*, Vol. VIII, Nr., 35; *Triveni*, Vol. I, pp. 112-20; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 213; *KTA*, p. 119; *HK*, p. 96; *CA*, pp. 235, 241-42, Note 1 and 269.
102. *Triveni*, Vol. I, p. 112f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220; *CA*, pp. 241-42, Note 1; *KK*, pp. 58 and 66; *HSI*, p. 148.
103. *KTA*, p. 119.
104. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220; *KTA*, p. 119.
105. *KTA*, p. 119; *HK*, p. 96; *KK*, pp. 55-56 and 58; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 213 & 220; *CA*, p. 242; *HSI*, p. 148.
106. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, v. 9; *DKD*, p. 345; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 208; *CA*, p. 232; *HSI*, p. 148.
107. कोङकणेषु यदादिष्ट चंडदंडोम्बु-वीचिभिः उदस्तास्तरसामौर्य पत्वलाम्बु समृद्धयः ।। *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 20.
108. अपर जलधेल्लक्ष्मीं मस्मिन्पुरी-म्पुरभित्प्रभे मदगजघटाकारैर्न्नौ शतैखमृदनति जलपटलानी-काकीर्णं नवोत्पलमेचकम जल-निधिरिव व्योमव्योम्नः समदो-भवदम्बुधः ।। *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 21; *DKD*, p. 350; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 213; *CA*, pp. 235-36; *KTA*, p. 203; *HSI*, pp. 148-49; *HK*, pp. 96-97.
109. Fleet was of opinion that the Mauryan capital might have been the same city which in the ninth century and afterwards became the capital of the Silaharas of Koṅkaṇa, though he did not rule out the possibility of its identification with Thana in Mahārāshṭra and Rājapuri in the Kolaba district besides the Ghārapurī or the island of Elephanta. He equally held that it could also be equated with Rajapuri in Ratnagiri. *DKD*, pp. 283-84, also note 5 on p. 283. Gadre has equated it with Ghārapurī, *IIBS*, p. 45; *PIHC*, 1940, pp. 86-89, 1941, pp. 264-66; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 213; *CA*, p. 235; *HSI*, p. 149; *HK*, p. 96; *KTA*, p. 203.
110. *CA*, pp. 235-36; *DKD*, pp. 283-84.
111. *ARG*, p. 2, Nos. 4 & 5; *ABORI*, Silver Jubilee Vol , pp. 510-513; *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 293-96.
112. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 10, v. 20.
113. प्रतापोनतपनता यस्यलाट मालव गुर्जराः । दंडोपनतसामन्तचर्या-चार्या इवाभवन ।। *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 22.
114. *DKD*, pp. 283 and 310; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 35 and 213.
115. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 210; *CA*, pp. 196 and 233.
116. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 248f; *DKD*, pp. 359-60.
117. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 269f; *CA*, p. 104.

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118. *CA*, p. 104.
119. *Harsha*, pp. 30-31; *CA*, p. 104.
120. हूण हरिण केसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गुर्जर प्रजागरो गान्धाराधिप गेन्धद्वीपकुट पाकलो लाटपाटव पाटच्चरो मालवलक्ष्मी लतापरशुः *Harshacharita*, p. 101.
121. *Harshacharita*, p. 178; *HK*, p. 65; *CA*, p. 99; *HAT*, p. 131; *Harsha*, p. 18; *Harshavardhana*, pp. 82-83.
122. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
123. *DKD*, pp. 313-16; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 213; *CA*, p. 156; *HGP*, p. 30.
124. *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77-79.
125. प्रतापानतयस्य लाट मालव गुर्जरः *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 22.
126. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 92; *CA*, p. 90.
127. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 92; *HGP*, p. 27.
128. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 242; *CA*, p. 63; *JDL*, Vol. X, p. 1f.
129. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
130. *DKD*, p. 312f.
131. *HGP*, p. 27.
132. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 251; *HPG*, p. 23.
133. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 20, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f.
134. अपरिमित विभूतिस्फीत सामन्त सेना मुकुटमणि मयूखाक्रान्त पादार विन्दः ।
युधि पतित गजेन्द्रानीक बीभत्स भूतो भयविगलित हर्षायेन चाकारि हर्षः ।।
EI, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 23.
135. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10.
136. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, pp. 255-59; *Life*, pp. 146-47; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
137. सकलोत्तरापथनाथ पराजयोपरान्तोपलब्ध परमेश्वर नाम ध्येयः This epithet is accorded to Pulakeśin II in the inscriptions of Ādityavarman onwards.
138. *SHK*, Vol. I, p. 57.
139. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 77 and 84; *SHK*, Vol. I, p. 58.
140. Appendix A, No. 28 onwards.
141. *SKH*, Vol. I, p. 58; *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, p. 375; *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 111.
142. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256; *Life*, pp. 146-47; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
143. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 256.
144. Ibid.
145. *Life*, p. 147; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
146. Dr. B.N. Sharma questions not only the authority and the (so called absurdity) of Ravikīrtti's account, but also charges modern historians with a partial attitude towards king Pulakeśin II. He seems to have himself fallen prey to the same fallacy, which he points out in modern historians. If Bāṇa had written anything, he would have accepted it, forgetting the normal historical discipline of giving more weightage to epigraphical evidence in comparison with literary works. *HAT*, pp. 178-84.
147. *EHI*, p. 353.
148. *EHDB*, p. 60.
149. *DKD*, p. 350; *Harsha*, p. 34; *HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 214; *KTA*, p. 203; *HK*, p. 97; *HAT*, pp. 182-83; *CA*, pp. 105-06.
150. *CA*, p. 105; *HAT*, p. 172f; *HKT*, p. 111.

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151. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10.
152. *Harshacharita*, p. 101.
153. *CA*, p. 99; *HKT*, p. 64; *HAT*, p. 131; *Harsha*, p. 16.
154. *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 70 and 74; *CA*, p. 99; *HKT*, pp. 65-66; *HAT*, p. 134; *Harsha*, p. 19; *Harshavardhana*, pp. 80-84.
155. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10.
156. *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77-81; *JBBRAS*, Vol. VI, p. 1f; *HIG*, p. 40.
157. This was not an isolated event pertaining to the clash between these two regional rulers. In fact, the Gurjara Pratīharas from the North and the Rāshṭrakūṭas from the South had frequent clashes which spread over several reigns and for a fairly long time. *HGP*, pp. 41-42, 46-47 and 60-61.
158. *EHI*, p. 353; *Harsha*, p. 34; *DKD*, p. 350; *HMHI*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.
159. *CA*, p. 106, Note 1.
160. Ibid., p. 106.
161. Ibid.
162. भुवमरुभिरनी-कैश्शासतो मस्य-
रेखा विविध पुलिन शोभावन्ध्य
विन्ध्यापकंठ ।
अधिकतरमराजत्स्वेन तेजो-
महिम्ना शिखरिभिरिम वज्र्यो-
वर्ष्मणां स्वर्द्धयेव ।।
EI, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 24.
163. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10.
164. *AHD*, p. 113.
165. *EHI*, p. 353.
166. *HKT*, pp. 128-29; *ABORI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 300-06; *CA*, p. 109.
167. *PIHC*, 1939, pp, 596-97; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 214; *DKD*, pp. 351 and 356; *Harsha*, p. 38; *HAT*, p. 197f; *HKT*, pp. 124-29; *HK*, p. 98; *EHNT*, pp. 244-47 and 280.
168. This assumption of Fleet was based on the mention of the coronation of Pulakeśin in the 25th verse of the Aihole *Praśasti*. In the same record, verses Nos. 17 to 24 prior to the above event mention the exploits of Pulakeśin II, including the defeat of Harsha. This led him to believe that after achieving the conquests mentioned in verses from Nos. 17 to 24, he was crowned in A.D. 609-10 (1st *Śukla Bhādrapada*, Śaka year 533) and to suggest that Harsha's fight with him took place in A.D. 608-09 (*DKD*, pp. 350-51). It is difficult to accept this view in the light of the Goa Grant (*JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f). However, he suggested that Harsha was defeated by Pulakeśin before the date of the Hyderabad Plates, A.D. 612. *DKD*, pp. 351 and 356.
169. समरशतसंघट्टससंवतपरनृपति
जयोपलब्ध परमेश्वरापरनामधेयः
IA, Vol. VI, p. 72f; *DKD*, p. 350.
170. *DKD*, p. 350.
171. Ibid., *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 343; *Siyuki*, Vol. I, p. 213.
172. *HKT*, p. 125; *CA*, pp. 97-108; *HAT*, p. 195; *EHNT*, pp. 242-44; *Harsha*, p. 36, Note 1.
173. *Harsha*, p. 36, Note 1; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 214; *PIHC*, 1939, pp. 596-97; *Life in Gupta Age* (Saletore), p. 74.
174. *Harsha*, p. 36 and Note 1.
175. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 214.
176. Ibid.
177. Ibid.
178. *HKT*, pp. 124-29; *ABORI*, Vol.

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XIII, pp. 300-60.

179. Ibid., pp. 128-29; *ABORI*, Vol. XIII, p. 300f; *HAT*, pp. 194-201; *PIHC*, 1952, pp. 91-97.
180. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 37-41.
181. The learned scholars have laid undue emphasis on the absence of any reference to Harsha's defeat in the Lohner Plates. The omission need not imply the non-happening of a particular event. The negative evidence need not be stressed much; it can only be brushed aside against the positive evidence of only a little late date, that of his son Ādityavarman, who probably succeeded him. *HKT*, p. 126; *ABORI*, Vol. XIII, p. 300f; *EHNT*, pp. 244 and 280; *HAT*, pp. 200-201.
182. *HKT*, pp. 127-28; *ABORI*, Vol. XIII, p. 300f.
183. Ibid., p. 127.
184. *JRAS* (NS), Vol. VI, p. 86; *JASB*, Vol. VI, p. 68.
185. *HKT*, pp. 127-28.
186. *EHNT*, p. 244.
187. *HKT*, p. 125.
188. Ibid., p. 126.
189. Ibid.
190. *ABORI*, Vol. XIII, p. 300f.
191. *CA*, p. 237; *HAT*, p. 170, Note 37.
192. *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 77f; *HIG*, p. 40.
193. *CA*, p. 237.
194. *IA*, p. 237, Note 2.
195. *PIHC*, 1939, p. 596f. Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, however, does not agree with the first part of this statement on the basis of the statements of Hiuen-Tsang and Ma-twan-lin. He also holds that the Harsha-Pulakeśin war did not conclude about A.D. 630-34 and regards the conquest of Koṅgada by Harsha in A.D. 642-43 as part of this campaign. He, however, admits that there is no reason to think that this war came to a close about A.D. 634, though Harsha may have been defeated about that time. In the conquest of Koṅgada, he thinks that Harsha was able to avenge his defeat by snatching Koṅgada, a part of the Chālukyan empire. *EHNT*, pp. 244-45, 247, 251-52.
196. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 211; *CA*, p. 234.
197. *HKT*, p. 126; *HAT*, pp. 176-77.
198. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
199. Appendix A, No. 24 onwards.
200. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
201. *DKD*, pp. 350-51; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 214.
202. Appendix A, No. 24 onwards.
203. *SKH*, Vol. I, p. 58; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 230; *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 33.
204. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 77; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 132f, 137f, 146f.
205. विजयराज्य संवत्सरे पंचमे, *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 330f.
206. *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 216.
207. Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 330f.
208. Ibid., pp. 330-31.
209. सत्याश्रय श्री पृथवीवल्लभ महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री पुलकेशिवल्लभ, Ibid., p. 330f.
210. *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 330f; Vol. XXX, p. 216.
211. *Rashṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 30; *Anekānta*, 1967, p. 127.
212. *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 330f.

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213. According to the Chinese pilgrim, he had gathered troops from five Indies and summoned the best leaders (generals) from all the countries and himself went at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people but he had not yet conquered their troops. This is further endorsed by the account from his *Life*. Śilāditya Rājā, boasting of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, filled with confidence, himself marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him.
214. *HKT*, p. 72; *HAT*, pp. 151-52; *Harsha*, p. 22; *CA*, pp. 99-100; *EHNT*, pp. 242 and 268.
215. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 261; *Life*, p. 148; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 242; *HKT*, pp. 108-09; *EHI*, p. 354; *Harsha*, pp. 30-31.
216. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 249; *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 270.
217. Ibid., p. 246; Ibid., p. 149; Ibid., p. 246.
218. Dr. Virji thinks that the Vallabhī-Harsha conflict took place in A.D. 632. *AHS*, pp. 72-73; *HKT*, p. 111 and Note 2; *HAT*, pp. 171-73; *Harsha*, p. 36, Note 1.
219. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 9-10.
220. पिष्टपुरकादान ग्रहणानन्तयेण, *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 37.
221. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 10-11.
222. *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 330-31.
223. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f.
224. *EHNT*, pp. 247 and 251-52. There is little evidence to prove that Harsha was able to capture those territories in A.D. 643 after the death of Pulakeśin II which formed part of his empire, as evinced from the Aihole *Praśasti*. Dr. Chattopadhyaya's suggestion is based on the identification of Koṅgada with modern Ganjam district, said to be part of Kaliṅga. *EHNT*, p. 252. It is difficult to agree with him that it amounted to avenging the defeat suffered by Harsha. It seems more plausible to believe that if it was achieved, that was after the death of Pulakeśin II.
225. *HAT*, pp. 181-82; 184-86; *HKT*, p. 121; *Harshavardhana*, p. 118f; *CA*, p. 106.
226. Ibid., pp. 184-86.
227. *JRAS*, 1926, p. 487.
228. भूपाला शशिभास्करान्वयभुवः के नाम नासादिता भत्तरिः पुनरेकमेवहि भुवस्त्वां देवमन्यामहे । येनम्ध्य परिमृष्य केतलमथाकृष्य व्युदस्यायतं चोलं प्राप्यच मध्यदेशमधुना काया करो भातित ।। as quoted in *Harshavardhana*, p. 119, Note 1; *HKT*, p. 121.
229. *MASR*, 1923, p. 83, No. 72; *EC*, Vol. VIII, Sa, 64; *SKH*, Vol. I, p. 39; *HKT*, p. 122; *HAT*, p. 184.
230. *MASR*, 1923, p. 83; *HAT*, p. 184.
231. Ibid.
232. *JMS*, Vol. XX, p. 169f.
233. *IHQ*, Vol. V, p. 235; *CA*, p. 106, Note 1.
234. *MASR*, 1923, p. 83.
235. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 229f; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 123-27, 132-37.

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236. *CA*, p. 106, Note 1. The historicity of Mayūra and his relations with Bāṇa is questioned by the scholars (*History of Sanskrit Literature* (Keith), p. 201). Chatterjee thinks that Mayūra's reference applies more to Pulakeśin II than to Harsha (*Harshavardhana*, pp. 118-20). Dr. B.N. Sharma believes that Mayūra was contemporary to Harsha but there is no solid evidence for such a belief. *HAT*, p. 186.
237. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 24.
238. Ibid., p. 6, v. 25.
239. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 38.
240. *CA*, p. 238.
241. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 36-43.
242. Ibid., pp. 214-15.
243. गृहिणां स्वस्वगुणोस्त्रिवर्गतुंगा
विहितान्यत क्षितिपाल मान भंगा।
अभवन्नुपजात भोतिलिंगा मदनां
केन सकोसला कलिंगा ॥
EI, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 26.
244. *CA*, pp. 217-18.
245. Ibid., p. 222.
246. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 125-26; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 30-32; *CA*, pp. 211-12.
247. *CA*, p. 215.
248. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 127-29.
249. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 215.
250. पिष्टं पिष्टपुरंयेन जातं दुर्ग्गम-
दुर्ग्गम ।
चित्रं यस्य कलवृत्तम जातं
दुर्ग्गमदुर्ग्गम ॥
EI, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 27.
251. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 37.
252. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11, v. 28.
253. Sastri thinks that Prithivimahārāja, son of Vikramendra and grandson of Raṇadurjaya, was probably the defeated ruler at Pishṭapura, who was a feudatory of the Vishṇukuṇḍins. He was dislodged from his possessions either by Pulakeśin II or by Vishṇuvardhana, who made Pishṭapura his capital. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 215.
254. *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257-60.
255. *CA*, p. 211.
256. Ibid., p. 238.
257. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 11-39.
258. Ramesan equates the 8th regnal year of Pulakeśin II to A.D. 616, *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 34 and 37.
259. *CA*, p. 210.
260. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 215.
261. *CA*, p. 211.
262. *EI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 15; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 215; *CA*, p. 211.
263. *CA*, p. 239. According to the Satara Plates of Pulakeśin's 8th regnal year, Vishṇuvardhana was ruling in the Satara region as governor. The Veṅgi area was conquered by Pulakeśin II in the same year. This rules out the usual belief that Pulakeśin appointed Vishṇuvardhana as governor in Veṅgi immediatel after its conquest. *IA*, Vol XIX, p. 303f; *CA*, p. 239; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 215-16; *HSI*, p. 150; *KTA*, p. 203.
264. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 11-39.
265. Ibid., p. 34.
266. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 215.
267. *JAHC*, Vol. I, pp. 166-71; *EHD*, p. 215, Note 3.
268. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11.
269. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 7 and 12, v. 29.
270. उद्धतामल चामर ध्वजशत छत्रा
धकार्रबलैः

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शौर्योत्साह रसोद्धतारि मथनैः
मौलादि भिष्षडविथैः ।
EI, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 29.

271. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 29.
272. *SII*, Vol. II, p. 343f; *HPK*, pp. 185-86.
273. *Pallavas*, p. 40; *HPK*, p. 89; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 215-16; *DKD*, p. 350; *HSI*, p. 150; *CA*, p. 259.
274. *Pallavas*, p. 40; *HPK*, p. 89; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 215-16; *DKD*, p. 350; *HSI*, p. 150; *CA*, p. 259.
275. The Kasakudi Plates mention the annihilation of an unknown enemy force which need not imply that the Chālukyas are referred to in the absence of specific mention. The Aihole *Praśasti* informs us that Pulakeśin II tried to befriend the Southern neighbours of the Pallavas, namely, the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas, indicating Pulakeśin's military strategy to besiege the Pallava capital through the territories of their neighbours, as the geographical situation did not allow a safe siege of Kāñchī directly. This necessitated another expedition from Pulakeśin II. If the events are identical, it simply indicates that Pulakeśin penetrated quite deep in the Pallava territory and threatened their capital, as Pallalūra is identified with a village of the same name near Kāñchī. *HPK*, p. 89.
276. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 60.
277. Ibid.
278. *HPK*, p. 97; *CA*, p. 260; *HSI*, p. 150.
279. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 27 and 37.
280. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11, verses 30 and 31.
281. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 31.
282. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11.
283. Ante, pp. 189-91.
284. तस्याम्बुधित्रयनिवारित
शासनस्य ।
285. वातापीन्नगरीम्प्रविश्यनगरीमेका
मिवौर्व्वीमिमां ।
चञ्च नीरधि-नील-नीर परि-
रवाम सत्याश्रयो शासति ।।
SKH, Vol. I, p. 42; *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 7, v. 32. A controversy exists about the identification of the Chālukyan capital as gathered from the account of the Chinese pilgrim. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 255f; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239; *Life*, p. 147; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 218-19; *CA*, p. 239, Note 2; *DKD*, p. 355.
286. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 216; *HSI*, p. 150; *HPK*, p. 88. As regards the date of this conflict, we have to find out the reason for this war. If Pulakeśin's heavy blow to the Vishṇukuṇḍins was the cause of this war, it seems to have happened a few years after Pulakeśin's capture of Pishṭapura, i.e., A.D. 617-18. Most probably it was a war for supremacy and appears to have taken place before A.D. 630. As Pulakeśin II is described as the lord of the region extending between the eastern and western oceans, the Lohner Plates and the Aihole *Praśasti* describe him as the master of the empire bounded by three oceans. The third ocean probably hints at the Indian Ocean. So we can conjecture that Pulakeśin

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conquered this region between A.D. 630-634. Gopalan admits that the actual cause of the Pallava-Chālukyan conflict is buried in obscurity (*HPK*, p. 89). Prof. Sathianathaier held that the Pallavas not only opposed the rise of the Chālukyas but they also resented the extermination of the Kadambas, close relatives of the Pallavas (*CA*, p. 259).

287. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
288. *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257f.
289. *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 16; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 27-29.
290. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 216.17; *SIH*, p. 150; *CA*, p. 238.
291. Ibid., p. 216; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 26-29. Ramesan, after analysing the views of B.V.K. Rao, Fleet, M.S. Sarma and others, has shown that Vishṇuvardhana was posted in the Veṅgi region in or about A.D. 624. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31.
292. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 237f; *DKD*, p. 348.
293. Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 237f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 173.
294. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f.
295. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f.
296. Narasiṁhavarman ascended the throne in A.D. 630. *HPK*, p. 97; *CA*, p. 260.
297. *SII*, Vol. II, p. 346; *HPK*, p. 89; *Pallavas*, p. 40; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 216; *CA*, pp. 238 and 259.
298. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11.
299. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11, verses 30-31.
300. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 217.
301. Pariyāla appears to be identical with the place named Pariyālu mentioned in the Ulchala Stone State Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya, which was gifted along with Ulchala to the Gaṅga prince after its conquest from Pallava Parameśvara by Vikramāditya II. *ARSIE*, 1943-44, p. 90.
302. Sūramāra appears to be identical with a locality of the same name referred to in an inscription found at Chāṇḍan in Tadpatri taluka of Anantpur district. This above-named Vishaya was administered by Bānarāja as a subordinate of Kīrttivarman II. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30.
303. Maṇimaṅgala is identified with the modern village of Marumangalam, about twenty miles from Kāñchī in Saidapet taluka of Chingleput district (*Pallavas*, p. 40). Pallalūra is in Conjeevaram taluka of the above district.

The above proposed identifications of these three battle-places which are situated in Karnul, Anantpur and Chingleput districts, in close proximity to one another, give basis to infer that in the invasion launched by Pulakeśin II against the Pallavas, he reached very near the Pallava metropolis, probably to besiege it. In the battle at Maṇimaṅgala, the Pallavas got an upper hand and successively defeated the invader at Sūramāra (Anantpur) and Pariyāla (Karnul) and other places. Thus Narasiṁhavarman liberated the considerable Pallava territory lost to the Chālukyas as a result

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of the defeat of Mahendravarman I recorded in the Aihole *Praśasti*.

304. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 152f; *Pallavas*, p. 40; *DKD*, p. 322; *HPK*, pp. 97 and 178-79; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 218; *CA*, pp. 240 and 260.
305. *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257f.
306. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 216-17.
307. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 144f; *HPK*, pp. 97 and 178-79; *HSI*, pp. 150-51; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 218; *DKD*, p. 322; *CA*, p. 240.
308. In the Kuram Plates, Narasiṁhavarman is stated to have defeated the Cholas, Keralas and Pāṇḍyas. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 144f; *HPK*, p. 178; *Pallavas*, p. 41.
309. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100, Vol. XXVII, p. 115.
310. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 255f; *Life*, pp. 146-47; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239f; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 218-19; *CA*, pp. 239-40; *DKD*, pp. 353-54; *HK*, p. 99; *KTA*, p. 204.
311. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 218; *CA*, p. 239.
312. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 255; *Life*, p. 146f; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
313. Ibid., p. 256; Ibid., p. 146; Ibid., p. 239f.
314. Ibid., p.255; Ibid., p. 146; Ibid., p. 239.
315. Ibid., pp. 255-56; Ibid., p. 147; Ibid., p. 239.
316. *JRAS*, Vol. XI (N.S.), p. 165; *DKD*, p. 352; *Ajanta*, Vol. I, pp. 44-49; *FNSI* p. 9; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 247; *CA*, p. 240.
317. Ibid., p. 165; *DKD*, p. 352.
318. Ibid., p. 167; *DKD* p. 352.
319. *JIH*, Vol. IV, pp. 32-33; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 217.
320. *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 61.
321. *HPK*, p. 97; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 218; *CA*, p. 240.
322. *HPK*, p. 98; *Pallavas*, p. 40; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223.
323. Ibid., pp. 98-99; *CA*, pp. 240-41; *HSI*, p. 150; *Pallavas*, p. 41; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 218.
324. *HPK*, p. 97; *CA*, p. 241; *HSI*, p. 151.
325. *SII*, Vol. II, p. 508; *HPK*, p. 98; *Pallavas*, p. 40.
326. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 511; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 199; *Pallavas*, p. 40; *HPK*, p. 98; *CA*, pp. 240-41; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 219.
327. *HPK*, p. 89.
328. *DKD*, p. 360; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 237f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31.
329. *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 199; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 219.
330. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 219.

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V

The Successors of Pulakesin II

In the galaxy of famous conquerors and empire-builders of India, the figure of Pulakeśin II shines with a lustre of its own. The first half of the seventh century in Indian history is noted for the exploits of two illustrious rulers, one in the North and the other in the South; Pulakeśin II, as the the southern contemporary of the northern champion Harsha, routed the forces of the latter and earned undying fame for himself.[1] Subsequently, however, the career of this brilliant ruler was cut short by the Pallavas, whom he had defeated in earlier engagements. It is generally accepted on all hands that he was defeated and probably slain by the Pallava Narasiṁhavarman some time in 642-43 A.D.[2] The Pallavas overwhelmed the Chālukyas to such an extent that little is known about the immediate successors of Pulakeśin II for a period of some twelve or thirteen years.

The period between 642-43 and 655 A.D. is regarded as the dark period in the history of the Chālukyas of Badami and their house was passing through a temporary phase of eclipse.[3] So far, no evidence has come to light either to suggest that the Chālukyan empire was divided among the sons of Pulakeśin II or that his successor or successors were trying to regain control of their lost capital Badami from some different headquarters.[4] Further, there is no direct evidence whatsoever to prove that the Chālukyan throne remained vacant at any time.[5] The defeat of Pulakeśin II and the capture of Badami by the Pallavas do

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not imply that the Chālukyas were completely eclipsed. Evidence has, however, come to light for reconstructing the history of the so-called dark period in the annals of that dynasty.

Pulakeśin II was succeeded by his 'dear son' Ādityavarman and not by Vikramāditya I, as has been generally supposed.[6] The existence of this successor is proved by the Karnul Grant of Ādityavarman and the Nelakuṇḍa Grant of his son Abhinavāditya.[7] The Karnul Grant credits him with the imperial titles of "*Śrīpṛthivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*".[8] He is also accorded the same titles in the Nelakuṇḍa Grant of his son. The expression "*Svabhujabalaparākramākrānta Sakalamahīmaṇḍalādhirājyaḥ*" and the aforesaid titles lead us to conclude that Ādityavarman, being the 'dear son' of Pulakeśin II, succeeded the latter after his death. This assumption is supported by the *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya* written by Chālukya Someśvara III.[9] The above-mentioned work supplies us with a genealogy of the early Chālukyas similar to those of the epigraphs of that family, with a few insignificant variations.[10] According to it, Satyāśraya, i.e., Pulakeśin II, was succeeded by Ādityavarman. This Ādityavarman of the aforesaid text is identical with his namesake mentioned in the Nelakuṇḍa and Karnul Grants. The historicity of Ādityavarman, as a Chālukyan sovereign, is also proved by the *Saṁkshepa Śārīraka* of Sarvajñātma, a disciple of Deveśvara (Sūreśvara).[11] Dr. Mahalingam has suggested the identification of Ādityavarman with Vikramāditya I on grounds of similarity in language and expression which exists in the Karnul Plates of Ādityavarman and the inscriptions of Vikramāditya I. Further he suggests that the expression "*Anivāritavikramādityasya*" occurring in the Chālukyan records is better translated as "Āditya of unopposed (or unrepulsed) valour (or prowess)".[12]

So far as the first argument of similarity is concerned, similar parallels could be cited in the records of Vikramāditya I and Kīrttivarman II[13] also. If the suggestion of the learned scholar is to be accepted, we shall have to identify Vikramāditya I with Kīrttivarman II. Since all official records, especially grants, were drafted by state officers with the help, or on the lines, of previous records in the State archives, such similarities are bound to creep in. Further, the word 'Ādityavarman' could not be regarded as a title, as has been admitted by the

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author himself.[14] As such, the question of identifying or translating the term from one into another does not arise. The suggestion could only be accepted when we disregard the statement of the Nelakuṇḍa Grant of Abhinavāditya, wherein Ādityavarman is described as his father.[15] Thus, in view of the epigraphic evidence, there is little justification for presuming that 'Ādityavarman' was the original name of Vikramāditya I.[16] Moreover, Ādityavarman ascended the throne after Pulakeśin II. This is also mentioned in some later Chālukyan records.[17] These records also bring in a certain Neḍamāri or Eḍamāri between Pulakeśin II and Ādityavarman, who is not known to us from any other source.

The Karnul Grant is dated in the first regnal year of Ādityavarman,[18] indicating that he ruled, at least, for a year as a sovereign. The authenticity of the Karnul and Nelakuṇḍa Grants is unquestionable.[19] The characters of these grants conform to those of other dynastic records; their seals are genuine, having the royal Chālukya insignia of Varāha standing to the proper right. The draft of the Karnul Grant is identical with other official records of that dynasty and the Nelakuṇḍa Grant does not differ in its fundamentals from other genuine records of the Badami House.

Dr. D.C. Sircar is of opinion that "the omission of the name of Ādityavarman and other claimants of the throne from the genealogy in the records of Vikramāditya I and his successors seems to be due to the fact that they were simultaneously ruling in the provinces away from Badami and their title to the throne was challenged or ignored by Vikramāditya I, who ousted them.[20] But the epigraphs under discussion furnish only the genealogy of the ruler and not the chronology. Vikramāditya I was a son of Pulakeśin II and so other rulers who came in between the two were omitted without any reference to them. The omission of Maṅgaleśa in the early Chālukyan records serves as an analogy. Ādityavarman was neither ousted nor was his title to the throne challenged by Vikramāditya I. He ascended the royal throne as the eldest son of Pulakeśin II. The later Chālukyan records describe Ādityavarman as the grandson of Pulakeśin II.[21] These are, however, unreliable and belong to a period when the dynastic history must have been forgotten. Yet these suggest that Ādityavarman did rule as a sovereign. Had

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he been a local ruler or a feudatory, he would not have been remembered along with other kings of the family.[22] The drafters of the later Chālukyan records, taking every ruler of the dynasty as the son of his predecessor, describe him as the grandson of Pulakeśin II, due to the intervening of a certain Neḍamāri as king between Pulakeśin II and Ādityavarman.[23]

Ādityavarman ascended the throne when the Chālukyan house was passing through dark days due to the Pallava invasion of their empire. It seems that his reign was short-lived and most probably he lost his life in trying to regain the occupied territories, fighting against the Pallavas and other enemies. This could also be surmised from a close scrutiny of the available records of the period having a bearing on the subject. We shall not be far wrong to assign to him a reign of some two years, i.e., from A.D. 643 to A.D. 645, as would appear from the following.

Very probably, Ādityavarman met a sudden death and was succeeded by his son Abhinavāditya.[24] The Nelakuṇḍa Plates endow Abhinavāditya and his father Ādityavarman with the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*.[25] As such Abhinavāditya succeeded Ādityavarman in the direct line. The plates, as pointed out earlier, have been accepted by scholars as authentic.[26]

Unfortunately, the record is neither dated in any specific era nor in any regnal year. Nothing is known about Abhinavāditya from any other source, though he certainly ruled for some time. He is ignored in the inscriptions of Vikramāditya I and his successors as he was not in the direct line of succession. Ādityavarman, too, has been omitted though he had certainly occupied the Chālukyan throne for some time. Abhinavāditya also seems to have ruled for a very short period of about a year or two, roughly between A.D. 645 and 646-47. Since there is no other information available about him also from any other source, we may surmise that he, too, lost his life, while trying to retrieve the lost fortunes of the family.

The grants discovered at Nerūr[27] and Kochare,[28] issued by queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā (named Vijayamahādevī in the latter), reveal the existence of another Chālukyan king named Chandrāditya. Chandrāditya has been described as an elder brother of Vikramāditya I in the aforesaid grants and is also mentioned in the Kuknur Inscription of Vikramāditya I.[29] Fleet and Sircar

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treat him as a feudatory on the ground that his name occurs after that of Vikramāditya I in the Nerūr and Kochare grants of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, and Vikramāditya I has been described as the 'dear son' of Pulakeśin, conqueror of hostile kings and restorer of the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors.[30]

It is clearly stated in the relevant records that king Chandrāditya was the elder brother of Vikramāditya I, which makes it plain that he, too, was a son of Pulakeśin II. As regards the first supposition, it is clear that Chandrāditya was dead at the time of the issue of the above-mentioned grants and this assumption is further strengthened by the fact that queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā dates her grants in her own regnal years.[31] This could be possible only after the death of king Chandrāditya. This ruler does not figure in the genealogical table of the grant, but is only mentioned with the intention of introducing queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's relationship with him. Obviously, Vikramāditya became very powerful after the death of his elder brother, Chandrāditya, taking advantage of the situation when the widowed Vijayabhaṭṭārikā was ruling on behalf of her minor son. Very probably, as the eldest remaining member of the royal family at that time, Vikramāditya finds mention in the aforesaid grants. The non-attribution of any title to him clearly suggests that his rights to the throne had no legal and moral sanction till the issue of the two grants.[32] It is thus evident that Chandrāditya was not alive at that time and his wife was ruling as regent on behalf of her minor son, whose subsequent death (under whatsoever circumstances—natural or otherwise) might have led to the capture of the throne by Vikramāditya I. This view was held by Fleet as well, while editing the said grants.[33]

As regards the second premise, it may be said that though Vikramāditya I has been credited with the achievements of destroying hostile kings and restoring the fortunes of the family,[34] it is strange that he is denied all royal titles in the plates referred to above. More interesting is the fact that he has not even been styled as a king. As against this, Chandrāditya has been credited with the imperial titles of *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha*, *Parameśvara* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. The inscription also states that Chandrāditya was an elder brother of Vikramāditya I.[35] Moreover, the queen of Chandrāditya is called *Mahishī*, *Bhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahādevī*, which are known honours of a chief queen.[36] She could

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be styled chief queen only when her husband was a sovereign ruler. King Chandrāditya is also called Chandrāditya *Bhaṭṭāraka* in the Kuknur Stone Inscription of Vikramāditya I.[37]

Taking all these facts into consideration, it can be assumed that king Chandrāditya was an imperial ruler and ascended the throne after the death of his nephew Abhinavāditya. He could hardly be placed between Pulakeśin II and Ādityavarman as a close study of the Karnul Grant of Ādityavarman together with the Kochare and Nerūr Plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā clearly suggests that the grants of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā were later than Karnul Plates of Ādityavarman.[38] It is, therefore, evident that Chandrāditya ruled prior to Vikramāditya I and later than Ādityavarman. Since Abhinavāditya was the direct successor of Ādityavarman, Chandrāditya could not have come to the throne between them. Therefore, he must have ruled after the death of his nephew, Abhinavāditya, and prior to the regency of his queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā. It is difficult to agree with R.G. Bhandarkar that the regnal year referred to in the Nerūr Grant stands for the regnal year of Chandrāditya.[39] The language of the grant in question suggests that she was actually ruling.[40] The aforesaid grants also suggest that by that time, Vikramāditya I had become quite a prominent figure in the royal house of Badami though he was not on the throne. His military achievements (credited to him in the above two records) suggest that after the death of his elder brother, Vikramāditya acted as the supreme commander of the Chālukyan army. He was very probably engaged in restoring the fallen fortunes of the family and in subduing hostile kings on behalf of his brother's son.[41] Thus, there would be a cogent justification for claiming military accomplishments on the part of Vikramāditya before being crowned king.

Thus, there is every possibility that king Abhinavāditya was succeeded by his uncle Chandrāditya. The latter also seems to have ruled for a very short period as an emperor and not as a local ruler or feudatory. His reign could roughly be fixed between A.D. 646 and 649.

It would thus appear that king Chandrāditya died, leaving a minor son and legal successor. The date of the Nerūr Grant, being in the Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's regnal year, clearly suggests that she was ruling as regent for her minor son. According to

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the Nerūr Grant, she ruled in that capacity for at least five years.[42] During her regency, Vikramāditya I, the eldest surviving member of the royal family and militant by nature, probably became the *de facto* ruler.[43] In the absence of any positive evidence, we are unaware of the circumstances in which the regency of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā came to an end. It is difficult to ascertain whether the minor prince died a natural death or was ousted by Vikramāditya I. While editing the Nerūr Grant, Fleet also surmised that Vikramāditya I captured the throne of the Chālukyas after the death of the minor son of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, on whose behalf she had been ruling.[44] The regency of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā could roughly be placed between circa A.D. 649 and 654-55.

The Honnūr Copper Plate Inscription of Vikramāditya I refers to yet another elder brother of his named Raṇarāgavarman, whose beloved daughter (Prāṇasamaduhitā) was married to Mādhava, the Gaṅga prince, and at whose instance he had gifted some land to the *Brāhmaṇas*.[45] As an elder brother of Vikramāditya I, Raṇarāgavarman should have been the Chālukya ruler prior to Vikramāditya I in view of the established law of primogeniture. We do not hear anything about him from any other source. According to the Nasik, Manor, Navsārī and Surat Copper Plate Inscriptions, Vikramāditya had a younger brother named Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha.[46] He was ruling over the Nāsik and Lāṭa regions as a subordinate of his elder brother. In this region, the successors of Jayasiṁha ruled upto the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., when at last they were supplanted by the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

It is narrated in the grants belonging to Vikramāditya I that "he gained for himself the regal fortune of his father which had been concealed by three kings and thus to have made the entire burden of royalty rest upon one person".[47] On the basis of this expression, Sastri supposes that the Chālukyan kingdom was divided and Vikramāditya I restored its unity. He also suggests that the phrase '*avanīpatitritaya*' probably refers to Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya, the two brothers of Vikramāditya I, and the Pallava, Narasiṁhavarman I.[48] As already indicated, Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya had succeeded Pulakeśin II after his death and there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that the Chālukyan kingdom was partitioned. The

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phrase *'avanīpatitritaya'*[49] would more logically refer to the three kings who were defeated by Vikramāditya I, and had earlier been responsible for the debacle of the Chālukyas. His elder brothers could hardly be included along with the Pallavas, the family foes.[50] The above-mentioned grants of Vikramāditya I also mention the shattering of the same three kingdoms (*tasmin rājyatraye*) by Vikramāditya I.[51] In the epigraphs of the successors of Vikramāditya I, these three kingdoms are referred to by the expression *trayarājya Pallava* while enumerating the military exploits of Vikramāditya I.[52] Sastri regards both these expressions as different from each other without assigning any reason for his supposition.[53] The term *trairājya Pallava* means either three kings headed by the Pallavas or three kings including the Pallavas or three rulers belonging to the dynasty of the Pallavas. The first interpretation is generally accepted by scholars. This interpretation is supported by the Navsārī Grant of Śryāśraya Śilāditya, which explicitly states that Vikramāditya I had defeated *trairājya Pallava*, viz., Cholas, Cheras and the Pāṇḍyas as well as the Pallavas.[54] We know that Pulakeśin II had tried to befriend these three kings because their frontiers touched the Pallava territories which he desired to conquer.[55] Probably these three rallied round the Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I, who not only frustrated the ambitions of Pulakeśin II but also inflicted a crushing defeat upon him.

It follows from the above that the phrases *trairājya Pallava* and *avanīpatitritaya* refer to the rulers of Chola, Chera and Pāṇḍya kingdoms who had allied themselves with the Pallavas[56] and were defeated by Vikramāditya I with the help of the Gaṅgas. Sastri in support of his supposition has cited evidence from the undated Karnul Plates of Vikramāditya I, which state that Vikramāditya I had become the sovereign after conquering all his kinsmen (*sarvān dāyādān vijitya*),[57] though he admits that the authenticity of the plates is not beyond reproach.[58] On account of their exceedingly faulty language and several other shortcomings, Fleet regarded them as spurious.[59] If, for a while, we accept their authenticity, the suggestion of Sastri does not stand because the kinsman, prior to the accession on the throne of Vikramāditya I, would be the son of Chandrāditya, whom he might have seen out of his way to capture the royal throne. Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya were dead prior to the regency

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of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā. Under such circumstances, we would fall in line with Fleet and regard the plates in question as spurious. Further, Vikramāditya I does not seem to have been one of the rival claimants for the throne from the very beginning.[60] Had he been so, he would have dated his records from A D. 643 instead of from A.D. 655. The non-bestowal of any royal epithet in the Kochare and Nerūr Plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā to him supports the above surmise.[61]

Thus there does not seem to be any valid ground for the assumption that the Chālukyan throne remained vacant during the period between A.D. 643 and 655.[62] The restoration of Chālukyan power was complete to a great extent before the issue of the Nerūr and Kochare Grants. Dr. Sircar also holds that Vikramāditya I fought on behalf of his brothers or brother.[63] It was only after the death of his elder brothers that he could occupy the throne of Badami. Available evidence does not warrant the assumption that there was disunity amongst the sons of Pulakeśin II.[64]

It is, thus, apparent that the Chālukyan throne did not remain vacant. The sons of Pulakeśin II though temporarily discomfited were able to muster strength and reoccupy the royal throne within a short time. Very possibly their capital remained under the occupation of the Pallavas for some time. The Pallava invasion was probably in the nature of a raid of the Chālukyan capital like the raids of the Chālukyas over Kāñchī. The absence of the names of the immediate predecessors of Vikramāditya I can be explained from an analogy with other dynastic records where the names of elder brothers have been excluded in epigraphs and copper plates. The omission of Maṅgaleśa is a glaring example in this direction.[65] As such, the omission cannot be turned into an argument against our supposition and it may be concluded that the period in between A.D. 642-43 and A.D. 655 need hardly be treated as an interregnum in the continuity of the Chālukyan authority.

Vikramāditya I

After the regency of the chief queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, lasting only five years,[66] Vikramāditya I, the favourite son of Pulakeśin II, ascended the Chālukyan throne at Badami.[67]

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The Chālukyan records are, however, silent on the fate of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā and her son after this event. It is likely that Vikramāditya I removed them from the political scene altogether. He was the rightful claimant to the Chālukyan throne as the son of Pulakeśin II. According to the Kauthem Plates, Vikramāditya was the son of Ādityavarman.[68] The Kannada poet, Raṇṇa, who completed his *Gadāyuddha* on Friday, 27th October, A.D. 982, also endorses the above statement.[69] But this later evidence is hardly reliable against the contemporary records of the Chālukyas from Vikramāditya I onwards, which describe this Chālukyan monarch as the son of Pulakeśin Satyāśraya, the vanquisher of Harsha.[70]

The dynastic inscriptions associate many *virudas* with him, besides the traditional ones of *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha* (*Śrīvallabha* or *Vallabha*) and *Satyāśraya*, i.e., 'the refuge of the truth'. He is also addressed as *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*. His other *virudas* are *Raṇarasika*, *Anivārita* and *Rājamalla*.[71] The last one was adopted by him after defeating the Pallava Narasiṁhavarman *alias Mahāmalla*, i.e., 'the great wrestler'.[72] Other *virudas* suggesting his military genius and valour are *anivārita*, i.e., 'the unopposed' or 'the unrepulsed' and '*Raṇarasika*', i.e., 'the lover of war'.[73] These are sometimes affixed to the name of the ruler and occasionally stand only for the ruler.[74]

We also find references to *virudas* of the religious nature, suggesting the ruler's devotion to a particular deity. Thus, the title *Paramamāheśvara* accorded to him in the inscriptions of Jayasiṁha and his sons points to his devotion to Śiva.[75] Modest in learning, Vikramāditya is also mentioned as devoted to his teachers without being accorded any special title. He is also credited with the payment of the teachers' fees.[76]

Besides the records of his successors and contemporaries,[77] which refer to his many-sided achievements, we have at our disposal eighteen epigraphs referring to his reign which help us in tracing the major events of his time. His earliest record, dated in his 2nd regnal year, was found at Turimella (Karnul district).[78] A year later, another record from Karnul notices his gift of some land in Nalavāḍi *vishaya*.[79] Both these epigraphs indicate his hold over the Karnul and surrounding areas as early as A.D. 657-58. The Amudalapāḍu Plates record the gift

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of a village to his teacher as *gurudakshiṇā* in his 5th regnal year,[80] while the Talamañchi Plates record the gift of a village to his preceptor in his 6th regnal year.[81] Another set of plates from Karnul refers to his feudatory Sendraka Devaśakti, mentioning the gift of land at the latter's instance in his 10th regnal year.[82] The Honnūr Plates as well as the Gaḍval (Veḷanalli) Plates suggest his successful expedition against the Pallavas and the Cholas, besides his incursions in the south upto Trichonapolly district.[83] These grants are dated in the Śaka years 592 and 596, respectively, and the latter refers to his 20th regnal year. Another set of plates from Savnūr is dated in the Śaka year 597 and corresponds to the 20th year of Vikramāditya's victorious reign.[84] These plates along with the above-referred Gaḍval Plates state in detail his clashes with the Pallavas. He seems to have ruled for not less than 27 years, as is apparent from the Ḍimmaguḍi Stone Inscription recording a gift made in his reign.[85]

His undated copper plate records are those from Hyderabad and Karnul. These copper plates deserve special notice because of their furnishing vital information on the political events of his reign.[86] The stone records from Aihole,[87] Gaṇajur,[88] Kuknur[89] and Ramapuram[90] confirm his authority over the regions now comprising Raichur and Dharwar in Karnataka and Mehboobnagar in Andhra Pradesh. There are also a few records of importance indicative of loyal kinsmen's participation in the Chālukyan administration. These include that of Buddhavarasarāja and a few records of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha from Nasik district.[91] Among the remaining records is a *vīragaḷ* from Darsi taluka in Nellore (A.P.) and the spurious Kurtakoṭi Plates dated in the Śaka year 532.[92] The hero-stone from Darsi refers to the fight between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas in the time of Vikramāditya (I), and records the death of hero Annavaya and occupation of the Annavaram-Agrahāram.[93]

His Accession

Vikramāditya I ascended the throne of Badami in or about A.D. 655, as suggested by the Honnūr, Gaḍval and Savnūr Plates dated in the Śaka year 592, 596 and 597; the first corresponding to the 16th and the last two to the 20th regnal year.[94]

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It is proposed on the basis of the joint authority of the Talamañchi and Nerūr Plates dated in his 6th and 10th regnal years, respectively, that Vikramāditya I commenced his rule some time between September A.D. 654 and July 655.[95] Fleet, however, suggested that he ascended the royal throne of the Chālukyas in the autumn of A.D. 655.[96] It is generally believed that Vikramāditya I became ruler in A.D. 655 after 12 years of his father's death in A.D. 642-43.

Important Events

An indicated earlier, Vikramāditya I probably also acted as the supreme commander of the Chālukyan army during the regency of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, in whose records he is mentioned as killing numerous kings in many battles, and achieving victories in different directions, and finally restoring the glory and fortune of his ancestors.[97] The same phrase is repeated in the inscriptions belonging to his reign.[98] This probably suggests his clash with numerous rulers, some of whom were killed by him in military encounters. He was not crowned king till the achievement of the success mentioned above. It may be proposed that the reference to the defeat of several rulers by Vikramāditya I actually points to the events before his accession to the throne, probably in the time of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā and his brothers preceding her. The reason for this conjecture is the reference to the restoration of the glory that was achieved by his ancestors.[99] Vikramāditya I had to establish his claim to the throne only on the basis of this glorious record. All the references to the killing of many rulers in numerous battles appear to point to events which had happened prior to his accession or immediately after it.

Conquest of Avanīpatitritaya

The next event to follow after his accession to the Chālukyan throne was the conquest of *Avanīpatitritaya*, viz., the three kings who had earlier eclipsed the fortune of the Chālukyas.[100] It is evident that these were contiguous states, forming a joint front against the Chālukyas or probably a set of successive rulers one after the other taking up the cudgels against the

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Chālukyas. This phrase not only occurs in his inscriptions but is also prominently mentioned in the records of his successors.[101] The identity of these three kings is a controversial matter. Fleet had earlier suggested that these refer to the three Pallava kings mentioned in the undated Hyderabad Grant of Vikramāditya I, namely Narasiṁhavarman, Mahendravarman II and Parameśvaravarman.[102] This appears to be conjectural because there is no definite evidence about the defeat of the three Pallava kings before the date of the Gaḍval Plates dated in the Śaka year 596, i.e., A.D. 675 in the 20th regnal year of Vikramāditya I.[103] This is the earliest and equally definite evidence on this point. No doubt, the Honnūr Plate of this ruler dated in the Śaka year 592 and 16th regnal year does mention the presence of the Chālukyan monarch at Malliyūragrama near Kāñchī, but without any reference to his victory over the three Pallava rulers succeeding in turn to face the Chālukyan monarch.[104] The Karnul Plates refer to the defeat of the *avanīpatitritaya* in his 3rd regnal year.[105] Thus, it cannot synchronise with the defeat of the three Pallava kings,[106] which must have happened in a later part of his reign. We have, therefore, to find out some other identification of the *avanīpatitritaya* or three kings defeated by this Chālukyan monarch.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, however, proposes that the three kings, who had concealed (partitioned or eclipsed) the Chālukyan kingdom as the word *antarita* suggests, were Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya, his brothers, and the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman.[107] He seems to have taken only the first meaning of the word *antarita* which could as well mean partition or eclipse or absorb.[108] This suggestion of the ex-Madras Professor is also untenable for the following reasons. Firstly, Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya were the sons of Pulakeśin II and elder brothers of Vikramāditya I, so they could hardly be included among the three enemy kings, who eclipsed the Chālukyan throne and were defeated by Vikramāditya I to regain his father's fortune. Neither were they rivals of Vikramāditya I, nor was the latter hostile to them. Most probably he joined his brothers against the Chālukyan enemies, namely, the Pallavas to retrieve the lost glory.[109] Prof. Sastri had sought to relate it to a phrase occurring in the undated Karnul Plates

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sarvān dāyādān vijitya meaning 'after conquering his kinsmen'.[110] We do not find this phrase in any other Chālukyan record. Moreover, the authenticity of the plates has rightly been questioned by Fleet for faulty language and late characters, as he himself admits.[111] Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya were probably dead before the complete restoration of the Chālukyan glory.[112] If any kinsman of Vikramāditya I was alive, he could be none else but Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's son. There is no evidence of any war of succession amongst Pulakeśin's sons.[113] Vikramāditya I had to wait for his chance which he availed of after the period of regency under Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, very probably following the death of the minor ruler son of Chandrāditya. He did not press his claim earlier and continued to wait for twelve years after his father's death. Moreover, the association of the Pallavas with the two Chālukyan brothers—Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya—is impossible as both were rivals of each other. The Pallava rulers figure separately in his records of later times.[114]

Scholars equate the above-mentioned phrase with *trayarājyapallavapati* or *trairājyakāñchīpati* occurring in the records of Vinayāditya onwards.[115] These phrases should be treated separately. The phrase *trairājya Pallavapati* refers to the three kings and the Pallavas or the Pallavas and his three allies; while *avanīpatitritaya* refers to the three kings who had shrouded the glory of Vikramāditya's father. In fact, Dr. Sircar also found it difficult to have the exact relevance of this term, as the kingdoms in the south in the present context number four and not three, and it would be difficult to omit the Pallavas or any one of the other three.[116] Moreover, the omission of any of these southern states, according to Sircar, would make it extremely difficult for Vikramāditya to fit in his scheme or schedule of conquests all the four kingdoms. He, however, desists from offering any positive suggestion on this point.[117]

N. Ramesan, editing the Velnalli Plates of A.D. 671, however, made certain bold assertions in this direction.[118] As this set of plates refers to the donation of the village situated in the Cholika *vishaya* by Vikramāditya I, it is natural to presume that the Chālukyan ruler had reached the territory of the Cholas in that year and not earlier. So the question of the conquest of the Cholas by Vikramāditya I as implied in that expres-

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sion earlier to this date, viz., A.D. 671, does not arise. Therefore, it could only be proposed, according to him, that the expression is suggestive of the Pallava conquest alone, which at that time comprised the region around Kāñchī, the ceded districts, and Nellore and Guntur districts ruled by three Pallava kings.[119] Since these regions are contiguous to the territory of the Chālukyas, it is natural that Vikramāditya should conquer these in the order of their location. He also asserts that these component parts were ruled by different Pallava chiefs.[120]

The above contentions of Śrī Ramesan do not fit in the sequence of evidence. In fact, the reference to a *avanīpatitritaya* is symbolical of three rulers, who were earlier defeated by Pulakeśin II.[121] Later on, when the Pallava ruler Narasiṁhavarman I had occupied Badami, these rulers, who had allied themselves with the Pallava king, naturally became Chālukyan enemies and they must have participated in the Pallava confederacy against the Chālukyas.[122] They also achieved their independence and occupied Chālukyan territory within their realm. Vikramāditya I had to plan his strategy in such a way that these powers could not join hands against him. He seems to have dealt with them individually, and later on crippled them to such an extent that it was possible for this Chālukyan monarch to march straight through their territories in his bid to besiege Kāñchī, his main target. This alone could have avenged the defeat suffered by his father at the hands of the Pallavas. It is clear that the defeat of the Pallavas was a separate issue unconnected with the clash implied in the expression *avanīpatitritaya*. As such, this phrase cannot be equated with *trayarājya Pallavapati* and *trayarājya Kāñchīpati*. It may, therefore, be proposed that these expressions suggest different political personalities, as *trayarājya Pallavapati* or *Kāñchīpati* is different from *avanīpatitritaya*. It might mean 'the lord of the Pallavas' and 'the leaders of three kingdoms', while *avanīpatitritaya* refers only to three kingdoms—the allies of the Pallavas.

The solution to this controversial phrase is found in the records of the Chālukyas themselves. The Nandgām Plates of Nāgavardhana, the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa and the Navsārī Plates of Pulakeśirāja contain a phrase '*vijita chera chola pāṇḍya kramāgata rājyatraya*' in connection with

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the exploits of Vikramāditya I.[123] It is quite likely that these refer to the same triad of kings who had occupied the Chālukyan empire after the death of Pulakeśin II, and were later on defeated by his son. Moreover, the inscriptions of Vikramāditya I in the same context after referring to *avanīpatitritaya* refer to the destruction of the triad of the kingdoms (*tasmin rājyatraye vinashṭāni*) and record restoration of the donations and gifts to gods and the *Brāhmaṇas* by him, withheld as a result of *avanīpatitritaya's* intrusion in that area.[124] Moreover, the phrase *avanīpatitritaya* is related to *tasmin rājyatraya*. In this connection, we may like to quote Maṃmaṭa and the author of the *Amarakośa*, restricting the use of '*tat*' in three circumstances, namely, *prakrānta*, *prasiddha* and *anirvachaniyam*.[125] Therefore, the word '*tasmin*' undoubtedly shows that *rājyatraya* refers to the above-quoted *avanīpatitritaya*. In the absence of it, the use of '*tasmin*' will be redundant.

It may, therefore, be concluded that *avanīpatitritaya* means 'the conquest of the three allies of the Pallavas', viz., Chola, Kerala and Pāṇḍya kings, who had occupied the Chālukyan kingdom annexed by Pulakeśin II, after his defeat and tragic death.[126] These rulers had sided with Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I as members of the confederacy headed by Narasiṁhavarman against Pulakeśin II.[127] In this task Vikramāditya I was also helped by the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, his maternal grandfather, to regain his ancestral fortune.[128] Durvinīta's help proved to be of substantial importance since his kingdom lay near the territories of these rulers, the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas.

Pallava-Chālukya Conflict

Inscriptions bear testimony to the continuance of the Pallava-Chālukya hostilities during the reign of Vikramāditya I. It seems that Pallava Narasiṁhavarman's campaign against the kingdom of Badami was aimed at devastating it and crippling the Chālukyan power to avenge the previous setbacks. Both the Pallava and the Chālukyan rulers eventually tried to settle their scores later on as well. Vikramāditya I at first tried to liberate his lost territory from the Pallavas after his reoccupation of the Chālukyan metropolis, and then launched

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an offensive against them. As such, there appears to have been two phases of Pallava-Chālukya hostilities during his time.[129] It is natural to presume that some time must have elapsed between the first and the second one, probably in the earlier and the later years of his reign, respectively.

It appears that after consolidating his hold over the territories of his father Pulakeśin II, Vikramāditya I marched against the traditional enemy, the Pallavas, to besiege Kāñchī. According to the Honnūr Plates dated in A.D. 671, we find that the Chālukyan ruler camped at Malliyūragrāma near Kāñchī.[130] This could be possible only in his capacity as the master of this territory bordering on the Pallava capital of his conquest of that region in the course of war against the Pallavas, probably in the second phase of this long-drawn struggle. His other records discovered at Gaḍval (Veḷnalli), Savnūr, Hyderabad and Kurtākoṭi contain details of his military adventures and successes against the Pallavas.[131] These also contain references to the previous events of his reign, and record in four verses his victory over the family-foe, the Pallavas. In the first verse, it is stated that Śrī Vallabha, i.e., Vikramāditya I, crushed the glory of Narasiṁha, destroyed the valour of Mahendra and subdued Īśvara with an aggressive mood (with his eyes).[132] The second stanza narrates that Vikramāditya, also called Śrīvallabha, joyfully enjoyed the lady of the southern quarters after subduing her through force and taking possession of Kāñchī, her girdle.[133] In the third verse, king Raṇarasika (Vikramāditya I) adopts the title of *Rājamalla*, i.e., wrestler among kings, after destroying *Mahāmalla*, i.e., Narasiṁhavarman Pallava.[134] The last one refers to Vikramāditya I, the conqueror of Īśvarapotarāja, i.e., Pallava king Parameśvaravarman, and the conquest of Kāñchī, which was well guarded by a deep and inaccessible moat with a rampart around it.[135]

These verses suggest that Vikramāditya I clashed with all the three Pallava rulers, viz., Narasiṁhavarman as well as his son Mahendravarman (A.D. 668-70) and Parameśvaravarman (A.D. 670-695).[136] His campaign against the Pallavas resulted in a deeper thrust into the territories of the Southern allies of the latter, as we find from his Gaḍval Plates Inscription. This records his entrance into the Cholika *vishaya* and encampment at Uragapura, identified with present Uraiyūra in

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Trichonapolly district of Tamilnadu.[137] He, however, seems to have intruded into the territory of the Cholas as well, whom he vanquished along with other Southern powers, viz., Pāṇḍyas and Keralas (Cheras). The last mentioned victory is further corroborated by the Surat Plates of *yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śilāditya.[138] It mentions that Anivārita Vikramāditya had overcome an unsurmountable enemy force of the Pallava ruler and occupied the territories of *trairājya*, i.e., the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas or the Cheras.[139] This considerably helped him in isolating them (Cholas, Cheras and Pāṇḍyas) from the influence of the Pallavas and in the encirclement of their capital Kāñchī. The date of this conflict might be fixed on the basis of the Gaḍval Plates dated in Śaka 596=A.D. 674.[140] There is yet another record from Savnūr dated in the Śaka year 597, also issued from the victorious camp of Vikramāditya I at Uragapura.[141] Therefore, it could be assumed that during the period from A.D. 671 to A.D. 674-75 he had defeated the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas, and besieged Kāñchī, the Pallava metropolis, and avenged the humiliation of his father and devastation of Badami.[142]

N. Venkataramanayya and some other scholars,[143] however, are of opinion that there is a play upon the name of the successive Pallava rulers mentioned in the Gaḍval, Savnūr and Hyderabad Plates, by conquering whom Vikramāditya excelled the three divinities, whose names they bore Narasiṁha, Mahendra and Īśvara.[144]

The Pallava records and especially the Kuram Plates also claim victory over Chālukya Vikramāditya by Parameśvaravarman.[145] It is narrated in the aforesaid plates that this Southern ruler vanquished single handed the Chālukyan army, 'consisting of several lakhs of men and compelling him to take to flight covered only by the rag'.[146] The subsequent Pallava records suggest that Parameśvaravarman defeated the forces of Vallabha in a battle at Peruvaḷanallur;[147] with his valour, he dried up the slough of the army of *Raṇarasika*[148] and, lastly, he oppressed (*unmardana*) the Chālukyan city, i.e., Vāṭāpi.[149] It is extremely difficult to reconcile the two versions. The battle at Peruvaḷanallur, a place in Lalgudi taluka of Trichonapolly district of Tamilnadu,[150] confirms the intrusion of Vikramāditya I in the Chola territory. It is also confirmed by the

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above-mentioned Gaḍval and Savnūr Plates.[151] It is, therefore, evident that the Pallava capital was besieged from the side of the Chola kingdom, and the clash between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas was indecisive, though Vikramāditya seems to have had an upper hand. The Pallava power, no doubt, had a severe setback as a result of this Chālukyan invasion.

The story is, however, different according to the Tamil poem *Periyapurāṇam* (twelfth century A.D.).[152] It mentions, in the course of the attack on Vāṭāpi, that the Pallava general Paraṅjoti Śiṟuttoṇar brought much booty and laid it at the feet of his master. The name of the king is not mentioned by the author of the said poem.[153] Professor Sastri places Śiṟuttoṇḍar in the time of a later Pallava ruler (Parameśvaravarman).[154] It may, however, be suggested that this poem is of a later period and probably refers to the earlier capture of Badami rather than to the one in the time of Vikramāditya I. When the Chālukyan monarch himself had taken the initiative, the Pallava ruler could only play a defensive role.

Some scholars, however, suggest that when the Chālukyan king was busy in his expedition against the Pallavas, Parameśvaravarman sent his general Śiṟuttoṇḍar to capture Vāṭāpi and opened another front.[155] This scheme (if any), however, failed and the Pallava general was defeated by Vijayāditya, the grandson of Vikramāditya I. It is as well proposed by some other scholars that the Pallava king gathered the support of some Southern powers, including the Pāṇḍya ruler Kochchaḍaiyan and successfully drove away the Chālukyas from the south.[156] This, however, does not fit in, as the Pāṇḍyas were no longer the friends of the Pallavas.

The Vaishṇava saint Tirumangai Āḻvār refers to the defeat of the strong Pāṇḍya and a northern king by the warriors of Nāṅgūr, who were forced to flee from the battle-field, one after the other.[157] Professor Sastri is of opinion that the warriors of Nāṅgūr in the above-mentioned account formed a strong contingent in the Pallava army and the northern king might be the Chālukyan invader, and this probably refers to the battle of Peruvaḷanallur.[158] He, further, suggests that the contemporary Pāṇḍya king Arikeśarī Parāṁkuśa Māravarman co-operated with Vikramāditya I and shared the defeat.[159]

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Further, the long drawn Pāṇḍya-Pallava rivalry, in his opinion, began in the time of the above-noted Pāṇḍya ruler. Therefore, his support to Vikramāditya becomes natural in the prevailing political condition in Southern India.[160]

In the absence of specific evidence, the identity of the political power siding with Vikramāditya is difficult to suggest. In this context, it can hardly be denied that the Gaṅgas of Mysore stood firmly with the Chālukyas. A Gaṅga Inscription states that Durvinīta defeated *Kāḍuveṭṭi*, i.e., the Pallava king who, like Rāvaṇa, had disturbed peace on earth. Durvinīta, probably, helped Vikramāditya, his daughter's son, in his early clashes with the Pallavas.[161] The Gaṅga king Bhuvivikrama, successor of Durvinīta, claims to have defeated the Pallava king at Vilinda in the Tumkur region of Mysore,[162] thus pointing to the Pallava-Chālukya struggle in which possibly Parameśvaravarman was defeated.[163] As the Gaṅgas were the relatives of the Chālukyas, this might be indicative of the help rendered by them against the Pallavas.

We, therefore, propose the following course of events of the time of Vikramāditya and his clash with the Pallavas. First, Vikramāditya along with his brothers forced Narasiṁhavarman to part with the earlier conquered Chālukyan territory. This must have been achieved in the earlier part of his reign or before he was crowned king. Later on Vikramāditya had to fight with the Pallava Mahendravarman, the son and successor of Narasiṁhavarman, as recorded in the Gaḍḍemane Inscription of *Peṭṭani* Satyāṅka in which the Chālukyan ruler was assisted by his nephew Śryāśraya Śilāditya, a son of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha.[164] Subsequently, he defeated Parameśvaravarman and captured Kāñchī, the Pallava metropolis. Probably the Pallava ruler had gathered enough troops to regain his lost territory.[165] It is, however, not possible to determine exactly on the basis of available source material whether the battle of Peruvaḷanallur preceded the capture of Kānchī or related to the battle which Parameśvaravarman gave to Vikramāditya I in his bid to recapture his metropolis. Whatever might have been the chain of events, the Pallava power was crippled and paralysed by Vikramāditya I.

This viewpoint is supported by the later Chālukyan records stating that Vinayāditya at the command of his father defeated

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trairājya Pallavapati like *Kumāra* arresting the army of the *asuras* at the order of Śiva.[166] The later records not only describe Vikramāditya as a renowned warrior but also as the victor of Kāñchīpura and one who retrieved the lost political fortune of the Chālukyas.[167] It is also said in those epigraphs that he destroyed the rulers of Pāṇḍya, Chola, Kerala, Kāḷabhra and others with his valour and forced the lord of Kāñchīpura, who had not earlier surrendered to anyone, to pay homage to him.[168]

Vikramāditya seems to have had the support of his son Vinayāditya and grandson Vijayāditya in his extensive conquests.[169] They defended the home province from foreign invasion and kept peace in the realm when the Chālukyan[170] sovereign was busy in repulsing the traditional foes, namely, the Pallavas, for a fairly long time. The Jejūri Plates inform us that Vijayāditya rooted out all the thorns from the body-politic, when Vikramāditya I was busy in his expedition in the South.[171] This led some scholars to believe that the supposed Pallava invasion of Śiṟuttoṇḍar caused panic in the Chālukyan realm and they tried to corroborate it from the reference to Vinayāditya pleasing his father through the pacification of the disturbed elements in the kingdom, as mentioned in the Chālukyan records.[172] The Chālukyan ruler also got valuable support from his younger brother Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha, the governor of Nasik and Gujarat regions of the Chālukyan empire and the latter's son *yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śilāditya,[173] who accompanied the Chālukyan lord on his expeditions.[174] His uncle Buddhavarasarāja was ruling over the Thana area of the Chālukyan dominion as the subordinate of his nephew, as is evident from the Sañjan Plates.[175]

The End

Vikramāditya I ruled for 27 years and he probably died in A.D. 682, as is evident from the dynastic records.[176] He was a gallant ruler, but unfortunately ascended the throne at an extremely critical period when the Chālukyan fortunes were waning. His immediate task was to retrieve the lost territory and restore the Chālukyan glory once again with an extensive empire. He had, therefore, to take up the cudgels against the traditional

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foes, namely, the Pallavas, and their allies. He was successful in capturing Kāñchī, and alienating the latter from the support earlier extended by the Southern powers (*trairājya*). The Chālukya-Pallava struggle continued for quite some time and Vikramāditya had to fight three Pallava rulers in turn, whom he defeated. He finally crushed the Pallava power in the South, and so also the Southern powers supporting them. His sphere of political influence was well recognised by the Cholas, Keralas and Pāṇḍyas. In the North too, he wielded his strength and supremacy.

Vikramāditya was able to restore the empire of the Chālukyas over Gujarat, Lāṭa, Mālavā and in the region extending upto the river Revā (Narmadā) in the North. His empire included the whole of the coastal lands in the west. Besides having authority over Mahārāshṭra and Karṇāṭaka, at one time Vikramāditya was the master of the area in the South upto Trichonapolly district in Tamilnadu. The other Chālukyan family under Vishṇuvardhana, which was ruling from Veṅgi as the capital, was left undisturbed, probably for strategic considerations. Vishṇuvardhana, brother of Pulakeśin II, who was the ruler of that area in his brother's time, no doubt became independent.[177] It would have been all right for Vikramāditya to take up the issue with his cousin, then ruling at Veṅgi, but probably he was not interested in extending the area of his conflict, and therefore he reconciled himself to the existing situation.

NOTES

1. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1f.
2. *DKD*, p. 349; *CA*, p. 240; *HK*, p. 100.
3. *DKD* (*BG*, Vol. I, Part II), p. 358; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 21; *HSI*, p. 151; *KTA*, p. 206; *HK*, p. 100; *EHI*, p. 443; *CA*, pp. 240-41.
4. *CA*, pp. 241-42; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 219.
5. *CA*, p. 241; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220.
6. *EHDB*, p. 63.
7. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 213-16; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 223-25.
8. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 223f.
9. *JMSI*, Vol. X, p. 442.
10. Genealogical Table attached.
11. श्री देवेश्वर पादपद्मरजस्संपर्क पूताशयः ।
    सर्वज्ञात्म गिरांकितो मुनिवरः संक्षेप शारीरकम् ।।

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चक्रे सज्जन बुद्धिवर्धनमिवं
राजन्य वंश्योनृपे ।
श्रीमत्यज्ञतशासने मनुकुलादि-
त्योभुवं शासति ।।

SKH, Vol. I, p. 56; *EHDB*, p. 80.

12. *PIHC*, 1957, pp. 113-18.
13. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f; *EI*, Vol. V, p. 200f.
14. *PIHC*, 1957, p. 113f.
15. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 213.
16. *PIHC*, 1957, pp. 113-18.
17. Kauṭhem and Yevur Grants of Vikramāditya VI, *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 15f.
18. प्रवर्द्धमान विजय राज्य प्रथम संवत्सरे, *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 223.
19. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 223f; *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 213f.
20. *CA*, p. 242.
21. Kauṭhem Grant of Vikramāditya VI, *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 15f.
22. *CA*, p. 242; *DKD*, pp. 366-7; *KTA*, p. 206; *HK*, p. 100.
23. Kauṭhem and Yevur Inscriptions, *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 15f.
24. The existence of this ruler has been disclosed by the publication of the Nelakuṇḍa Plates by Dr. P.B. Desai, *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 213f.
25. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 213f.
26. The characters of the plates are regular to the period and dynasty. The record is drafted in typical Chālukyan style but omits the genealogy prior to Pulakeśin II, the grandfather of the donor Abhinavāditya. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 213f.
27. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 163-64.
28. *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 44-47.
29. *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38.
30. *CA*, p. 242.
31. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163.
32. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163.
33. Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 163f, Vol. VIII, p. 44f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 211.
34. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f and Vol. VIII, p. 44f.
35. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 234-35 and *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f.
36. श्री चन्द्रादित्य पृथ्वीवल्लभ-महाराजस्य प्रिय महिषी विजभ-भट्टारिका, *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f; श्री चन्द्रादित्य पृथ्वीवल्लम महाराजाधिराजस्तस्य प्रिय महिषी कलिकाल प्रतिपक्ष भूता श्री विजय महादेवी, *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 44f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 44.
37. *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38.
38. *Śodhapatrikā*, Vol. XXII, pp. 41-42.
39. *EHDB*, p. 92.
40. स्वराज्य पंचम संवत्सर आश्वयूज पौर्णमास्या द्वितीयांयाम् विषुवे, *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163.
41. यो रिपुनरेन्द्रान हत्वा दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजाम् लक्ष्मीं प्राप्य, *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 44f.
42. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 163-64.
43. The way Vikramāditya figures in the inscriptions of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, it seems plausible to suppose that because of his military qualities, he had become prominent in the administration. *Śodhapatrikā*, Vol. XXII, p. 42.
44. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f.

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45. स्वदेव्या विक्रमादित्यस्याग्रज रणरागवर्म्मस्य प्राणसमदुहितया चाभिवाद्य विज्ञापनात, *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f.
46. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 117f, Vol. VIII, p. 229f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f, p. 127f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 123f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f; *IAR*, 1962-63, p. 52.
47. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220.
48. Ibid.
49. Ante, pp. 183-91.
50. *Śodhapatrikā*, Vol. XXII, pp. 42-44.
51. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 55.
52. *VSMV*, 1966, p. 34; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f.
53. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220.
54. *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 229f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f.
55. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 10-11.
56. *Avanīpatitritaya* means the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas, while *trairājya pallava* means the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas under the leadership of the Pallavas. Ante, pp. 183-91.
57. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220.
58. Ibid., p. 220, Note 4.
59. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 229f.
60. *CA*, p. 241.
61. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f, Vol. VIII, p. 44f.
62. *EHI*, p. 443; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 219-20; *CA*, pp. 241-2; *HK*, pp. 100 101.
63. This contradicts the learned author's own statement mentioned above and proves that Vikramāditya I was not a claimant to the throne in the early stage. *CA*, p. 241, note.
64. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 219; *CA*, pp. 241-2; *HK*, p. 100; *KTA*, p. 206.
65. In the inscriptions, the genealogy of the donor-king is mentioned. We could hardly expect a list of the kings who ruled from these. Therefore, the denial of place to the sons and grandsons of Pulakeśin II, who ruled before Vikramāditya I, is not abnormal. Vikramāditya I was son of Pulakeśin II, so all the rulers who figured between them were omitted because they were not in the direct line of succession.
66. The Nerūr Plates issued by her are dated in the 5th year (*Svarājya Pañchama Saṁvatsara*) of her regency. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 163-64; *DKD*, p. 352. Sastri, however, considers it dated in the 5th year of Vikramāditya. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220. For other views, see *KTA*, pp. 207-08.
67. *Priya tanayaḥ*, *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 175f; ibid., Vol. IX, p. 98f.
68. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 226; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 77.
69. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 78.
70. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 98f; *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 32; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 52, 56, 62 and 85.
71. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100, Vol. XXVII, p. 115f; *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 75-78.
72. योराजशब्दं विहित महामल्ल कुलनाश, Gaḍval, Savūr and Hyderabad Plates of Vikramāditya I. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 53; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 115; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 75f.
73. The Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa mention him as *Śrī Kokkuli Vikramāditya*, *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 20.
74. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f.

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75. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f, Vol. IV, p. 141; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 20.
76. Besides bestowing the title of *Paramamāheśvara* on Vikramāditya I, the inscriptions of the early Chālukyas of Lāṭa describe him as meditating on the feet of Nāgavardhana, supposed to have been the king's teacher (*EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 20; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f, Vol. IV, p. 141). The Amudalapāḍu Plates of the king's 5th regnal year refer to the payment of *Gurudakshiṇā* to Sudarshanāchārya on the occasion of the king's *Śivamaṇḍaladīkshā* (*EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 175f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 55). The Talamañchi Plates of his 6th regnal year refer to yet another preceptor of the king named Meghāchārya. This indicates that Vaishṇavism, the royal religion, was replaced by Śaivism during the life-time of the Chālukyan monarch Vikramāditya I (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 98f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 55).
77. The Kuram Plates of Pallava Parameśvaravarman I mention that Vikramāditya's army consisted of several *lakshas*. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 144f; *PK*, p. 178.
78. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160-64.
79. *ASSI*, Vol. II, p. 15; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 225-27; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f.
80. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 175-89; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 54-57.
81. *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 98-102.
82. *ASWI*, Vol. II, p. 16; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 227-29 and 238-39; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f.
83. *MASR*, 1939, pp. 129-37; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 46-53.
84. *SMHD*, Vol. III, p. 53f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 115-19.
85. *SII*, Vol. X, p. 10, Ins. No. 24.
86. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 75-78; *ASSI*, Vol. II, p 16, No. 98; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 229-31 and 240-42.
87. *ARSIE*, 1928-29, Ins. No. 18, p. 43; *BKI*, Vol. I, p. 2, No. 4.
88. *ARSIE*, 1932-33, p. 96.
89. The Kuknur Inscription is significant and interesting because it refers to Chandrāditya *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the elder brother of the king and the latter's son Vinayāditya, probably the crown-prince. *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38, No. 2123.
90. *IAR*, 1963-64.
91. The Sañjan Plates refer to the moon of the Chālukyan family Buddhavarasarāja, a feudatory and uncle of Vikramāditya I, who donated a landed estate besides two fields to Sagula Dīkshita from the city of Piṇuka (mod. Poona). *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 44-48; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 117-22; ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 229f; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 123-27; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 123-25; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 16-28.
92. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 217-20.
93. *ARSIE*, 1935-36, p. 24; Nellore Ins., p. 287.
94. The Honnūr Plates refer to the 16th regnal year falling on *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī* Śaka year 592 corresponding to 10th April, A.D. 670 (*MASR*, 1939, pp. 120-37). The Gaḍval Plates of this ruler mention 20th regnal year falling on *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī* in the Śaka year 596 corresponding to Tuesday, 25th April, A.D. 674 or 15th April, A.D. 675 (*EI*, Vol. X,

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p. 100f; *CPIAPGM*, pp. 46-47). The Savnūr Plates also refer to *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī* Śaka year 597 in the 20th regnal year corresponding to the 25th April, A.D. 674 or 15th April, A.D. 675 (*SMHD*, Vol. III, p. 53f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 115-19).

95. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 102; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244, No. 12; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 227-29; *CA*, p. 242.
96. *DKD*, p. 363.
97. रिपुनरेन्द्रान् हत्वा दिशिदिशिजित्वा स्ववं [शजाम] लक्ष्मीं प्राप्य, Nerūr Plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f: रणशिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्रान् दिशिदिशिजित्वा स्ववं [शजाम] लक्ष्मीं प्राप्य, Kochare Plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 44f.
98. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp 56-57.
99. The records of his time specially mention that he had restored the glory of his ancestors by killing numerous enemy rulers in several battles; while he had retrieved the lost fortune of his father (*Svaguroḥ Śriyam*), concealed by *avanīpatitritaya* by ordering from his mouth the gift of gods and *brāhmaṇas* restored which were discontinued as a result of the above-mentioned event. This indicates that he received the dynastic right after several battles fought to get Badami vacated and later on he reoccupied the territories fallen to enemies when he succeeded his father. *DKD*, pp. 361-62; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 221, Note 1; *CA*, p. 243; *KTA*, p. 207.
100. "स्वगुरोः श्रियमवनिपतित्रितयान्तरित" *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 175-84.
101. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f, Vol. VI, p. 75f; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
102. *DKD*, p. 362.
103. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 47.
104. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f.
105. *ASWI*, Vol. II, p. 15; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 225; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f.
106. *DKD*, p. 362; *CA*, p. 243.
107. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220; *HK*, pp. 100-01.
108. Monier Williams, p. 44.
109. *CA*, p. 241 and Note 2; *HK*, p. 100.
110. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 200 and Note 4; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 230 and 240.
111. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 240; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220 and Note 4.
112. *JOHR*, Vol. XV, pp. 19-22; *Śodhapatrikā*, Year 22, Part III, pp. 39-42.
113. *HK*, p. 100; *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 151-52; *CA*, pp. 241-42; *HSI*, pp. 145-46.
114. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 52-53; *SMHD*, Vol. III, p. 53f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 115f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 75f.
115. "त्रराज्यपल्लवबलमवष्टम्य" or "त्रराज्यकाञ्चीपतिबलमवष्टम्य" *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 62; *IA*, Vol XIX, p. 62f; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
116. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 182; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 49.
117. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 182;

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CPIAPGM, Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

118. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 49-50.
119. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 50.
120. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 50. This problem was also considered by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma who regarded the term *traya-rājya Pallava* as referring to the three kingdoms of the Pallavas themselves ruling over Kāñchī, ceded districts and Nellore and Guntur areas of present Andhra Pradesh. *JOR*, Vol. X, p. 27f. The Madras Christian College Magazine, 1929, p. 7, as quoted by Sastri, *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220, Note 3 and Ramesan, *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 7.
121. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11, verses 30-31; *HK*, p. 101.
122. *HK*, p. 101; *KD*, p. 33.
123. *JBBRAS*, Vol. II, p. 7; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 16f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
124. स्वगुरो: श्रियमवनिपति त्रितया-न्तरितात्मसात् कृत्वा कृतैका-धिष्ठाताशेष राज्यभारस्तस्मिन राज्यत्रये विनिष्टानि देवस्य ब्रह्मदेयानि धर्म्मयशो मिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्थापितवान्, *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 175f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 56.
125. *Kāvyaprakāśa*, canto VII, verses 184-85; *Amarakośa*, Kāṇḍa III, Varga IV, v. 3.
126. Vinayāditya, the crown prince, is also said to have arrested at the command of his father Vikramāditya I the exalted power of three kings of Chola, Pāṇḍya and Kerala; indicating that Vinayāditya assisted his father Vikramāditya I in his early conflict with the above-mentioned three southern powers immediately after occupying the Chālukyan throne of Badami. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163; *CA*, p. 243; *HK*, pp. 100-101; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62, Vol. IX, p. 202; *KTA*, p. 207.
127. *HK*, p. 101; *KD*, pp. 11 and 33.
128. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220; *CA*, p. 242.
129. The records belonging to the time of Vikramāditya I furnish the details of Pallava-Chālukya feuds are not found earlier than the 16th year, as is evident from the Honnūr and Gaḍval Plates. The earlier conflict was related to the vacation of occupied territory by the Pallavas fallen to them due to devastating of Badami. *KD*, p. 11; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223.
130. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223; *HK*, p. 101.
131. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 46; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 115f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 75f, Vol. VII, p. 217f.
132. मृदित नरसिंह यशसा विहित महेन्द्र प्रताप विलयेन ।
नयन विजितेश्वरेण प्रभुणा श्रीवल्लभेन जितम् ।।
CPIAPGM, Vol. I, p. 46.
133. कृत पल्लवावमर्द्दं दक्षिण-दिग्युवतिमात्तकाञ्चीकः ।
यो मृशममिरमयन्नपिसुतरां श्रीवल्लभत्वमित : ।।
CPIAPGM, Vol. I, p. 46.
134. वहितस्वमर्थन्तः रणरसिकः श्रीमदरुबलस्कन्धः ।
यो राजमल्ल शब्द विहित

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महामल्ल कुलनाशः ॥
SMHD, Vol. III, p. 53f.

135. दुर्ल्लघदुष्कर विमेद विशाल-साला दुर्गाधदुस्तर वृहत्परिखा-परीता ।
अग्राहियेन जयतेश्वर पोतराजं काञ्चीव दर्पणदिशः क्षितिपेन काञ्ची ॥
SMHD, Vol. III, p. 53f.

136. The reigning period of these Pallava rulers (630-695 A.D.) falls in the time of Vikramāditya I (655 A.D. to 681 A.D.) making him the contemporary of these Pallava rulers. *CA*, p. 260; *HPK*, pp. 97, 103-04; *The Pallavas*, p. 73; *DKD*, p. 362.

137. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 49f; *HPK*, p. 104, Note 4. Dubreuil identifies it with Nagapattnam, now Negapatam. *The Pallavas*, p. 43.

138. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f.

139. विलंधितान्यालंघयारि भूपाल बलकाञ्ची पुरीशे पल्लवान्वय प्रमाथी परिगृहीत त्रैराज्यराज्यः, *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f.

140. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 49f.

141. *SMHD*, Vol. III, p. 53f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 115.

142. *CA*, p. 243.

143. The Madras Christian College Magazine, 1927, p. 241; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 222 and Note 6.

144. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 222, Note 6.

145. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 144; *HPK*, pp. 178-79.

146. *HPK*, p. 5; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 222-23, 244; *HK*, p. 101.

147. *SII*, Vol. II, p. 366; *HPK*, pp. 105 and 184-85; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223.

148. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 22, v. 2; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223.

149. Ibid., p. 12, v. 2; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223, Note 3; *HPK*, pp. 104-05, Note 4.

150. *HPK*, p. 5; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224; *CA*, p. 244; *The Pallavas*, p. 43.

151. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 49f; *SMHD*, Vol. III, p. 53f; *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 115f.

152. *HPK*, p. 98; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223; *HK*, pp. 101-02.

153. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223.

154. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 224; *CA*, p. 244, Note 2; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 63-64.

155. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 225; *HSI*, pp. 152-53; *CA*, pp. 242-43.

156. *The Pallavas*, p. 68; *CA*, p. 242. Sastri, however, suggests that Vikramāditya suffered defeat along with the Pāṇḍya ruler Arikeśarī Parāṁkuśa Māravarman, who had co-operated with the Chālukyan monarch against the Pallavas. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223.

157. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223.

158. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 223-24.

159. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 223.

160. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 223.

161. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220; *CA*, p. 242f.

162. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 63-64; *CA*, p. 244, Note 2.

163. *CA*, p. 244; *KTA*, p. 120; *HSI*, p. 152.

164. *MASR*, 1923, p. 83; *IHQ*, Vol. V, p. 325; Kuram Plates, *SII*, Vol. I, p. 144f; *HPK*, p. 178.

165. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 144f; *HSI*, p. 152; *HPK*, p. 105; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224.

166. पितुराज्ञया बालेन्दु शेखरस्येवता-

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रकारातिवि [एवं सेनानी] दैत्यबलमतिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्य-पल्लवबलमवष्टम्य:, *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 33; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 200f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224; *CA*, pp. 223-24.

167. मल्लवपति पराजयान्तर परि-गृहीत काञ्चीपुरस्य, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 202; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 126; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

168. प्रभाव कुलिशदलित पान्डय चोल केरल धरणिधर त्रायमान मान-श्रृंगस्य अनन्य समनवत काञ्ची-पतिमुकुट कट किरणा सलिला-भिषिक्त चरणकमलस्य, *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 85f; *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 311, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f, Vol. V, p. 200f.

169. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224; *KTA*, p. 208; *CA*, pp. 243-44; *HK*, p. 102.

170. Ibid.

171. पितुराज्ञया बालेन्दु शेखरस्येव सेनानी दैत्य बलमतिसमुद्धतम त्रैराज्यकाञ्चीपति बलमवष्टम्य सतस्त विषय प्रशम नाद विहित मनोनुरन्जन:, *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f. This phrase is repeated in several Chālukyan records of Vinayāditya. *JOR*, Vol. X, p. 27f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 88, Vol. IX, p. 126.

172. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224.

173. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 117f, Vol. VIII, p. 229f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f.

174. *MASR*, 1923, p. 83; *KK*, pp. 64-66; *CA*, p. 149.

175. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 40-48.

176. *SII*, Vol. X, p. 10.

177. *CA*, p. 250; *EHD*, Vol. II, pp. 471-73.

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VI

The Era of Peace and Prosperity

Vinayāditya

VINAYADITYA, the favourite son of Vikramāditya I, succeeded him on the throne of Badami.[1] He had earlier acted as *Yuvarāja* during his father's life-time[2] and had once successfully led an expedition at the command of his father against the traditional enemy.[3] Thus he had occasion to receive both military and civil training in his father's time. His chief queen Vinayavatī is recorded to have caused to establish the image of the triad of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Maheśa during the reign of her son Vijayāditya at Badami in A.D. 699, indicating that she had survived him.[4]

The dynastic records bestow on him several titles, besides the family ones, of *Śrīprithivīvallabha* (*Vallabha* or *Śrīvallabha*) and *Satyāśraya*, i.e., 'the refuge of truth'. He is also credited with imperial titles like *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*. The Chālukyan inscriptions confer on him other *virudas* as well. These include *Rājāśraya*,[5] i.e., 'the asylum of kings' and *Yuddhamalla*, 'the champion of war'. The last *viruda* occurs in the Iṭagi Stone Inscription, as well as the Kauṭhem Grant and a few other later inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī.[6] The Kannada poet Raṇṇa calls him *Durdharamalla* in his *Gadāyuddha*.[7]

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Date of Vinayāditya's Accession

It is difficult to ascertain the date of his accession on account of the conflicting data provided by his records with reference to his initial regnal year. According to the Lakshmeśvar Inscription and the Karnul, Kolhapur, Sorab, Mayalūr, Dayyamdinne and Patodā Plates, he seems to have ascended the throne on some date between the 2nd of June and 4th of July A.D. 681;[8] while according to the Jejuri and Togurcheḍu Plates, he appears to have been crowned between the 18th of October A.D. 678 and 2nd of July A.D. 679.[9] His earlier known record, the Paṇiyal (Hyderabad) Grant, is dated on the full moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 604 (expired) and in his 2nd regnal year, which would correspond to 27th April A.D. 682.[10] This seems to suggest that Vinayāditya ascended the throne in A.D. 681. We know that Vikramāditya I had at least ruled for 27 years,[11] i.e., upto A.D. 681, as he became king in A.D. 654-55.[12] Therefore, in all probability the date given by the Paṇiyal and other grants mentioned above may be provisionally accepted, till confirmation is available from further evidence in future.

Now more than one and a half dozen inscriptions of this ruler provide details about his comparatively peaceful time. His earliest record is Paṇiyal (Hyderabad) Grant dated in the Śaka year 604 in the 2nd regnal year.[13] It records the gift of the village Paṇiyal to a *Brāhmaṇa* by the king, free from taxes and penalties.[14] The next inscription from Lakshmeśvar Jain Temple is of the 7th regnal year dated in the Śaka year 608.[15] It records the grant in favour of a Jain *Āchārya* by the king. The Jejuri Plates refer to his 9th regnal year dated in the Śaka year 609 (expired) and record the royal command gifting the village named Vīra in Satimāla Bhoga to a *Brāhmaṇa*.[16] Another set of Copper Plates, dated in the Śaka year 611 (expired) and in the 10th regnal year of the king is found from Togurcheḍu in Karnul district.[17] It mentions a royal gift to a *Brāhmaṇa* from his camp at Pampātīrtha. Among other donations by this Chālukya ruler may be mentioned that of a village named Tuṛave in the Bijapur district by way of *Kanyādharmārtha* in the Śaka year 612 and in the 10th regnal year.[18] This was done at the request of *Mahādevī* or the chief queen. It is interesting to notice that the gift of some land in the country

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of the Bāṇas who were feudatories of the Chālukyas is known to us from the Vīrareddīpalle Stone Inscription of the 10th regnal year of Vinayāditya.[19] The next record dated in the 11th regnal year in the Śaka year 613 of the ruler refers to the gift of the village Musanīṗaru at the instance of the *Yuvarāja* Vijayāditya.[20] This regnal year is notable for several dedications; as, for instance, the gift of land in the village of Alikuṇḍe in Peḍekal *vishaya* (Mayalur Plates),[21] and that in the village Sālivāge in the Eḍevoḷaḷ *vishaya* in the vicinity of the town of Vaijayantī (Banavāsī in Dharwar).[22] The next record, the Dayyaṁdinne Plates dated in Śaka 614, is informative for the help it provides in fixing Vinayāditya's date of accession some time between June 20th and July 4th A.D. 681.[23] It notices the gift made in Nalavādī *vishaya* of the village Ulchala.[24] A little later, the Kolhapur Plates dated in the Śaka year 615 record this Chālukyan ruler as receiving presents from the rulers of Kāñchī, Kāma, Lāṭa, Mushaka and the queen of *Strīrājya*.[25] The Harihara Plates of the Śaka year 617 notice the Chālukyan feudatory Aḷuvarāja at whose instance the king gifted the village of Kirukagamasi in the Eḍevoḷaḷ division of Banavāsī.[26] It is interesting to find a reference to gift of the village Sthudhirāṭa in the Uttarada *vishaya* of Chemulya (modern Chaul in Kolaba district of Maharashtra) in the Śaka year 617 recovered from Paṭoda in Gurdaspur district in the Punjab.[27] Evidently, this must have happened due to the migration of the donee's descendants from Maharashtra to the Punjab.

Besides these Copper Plates, there are a few Stone Inscriptions as well, recording gifts and donations by Vinayāditya. These include those found at Igaḍuru in Anantpur district (in the 14th regnal year),[28] that from Balamgave (undated) mentioning his feudatory the Sendraka Mahārāja Poggili,[29] another from Iṭagi which mentions his *viruda* Yuddhamalla, the war wrestler,[30] which is referred to in the Kauṭhem Grant of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī.[31] Reference to the conquest of the ruler is also found in a record of the time of Bhuvanaikamalladeva dated in the Śaka year 990, i.e., A.D. 1068.[32] It registers the re-endorsement of the land to the temple of Pañchalingadeva, previously gifted by Vinayāditya Satyāśraya when he was camping at Rameśvaratīrtha in the Kaṇḍurnāḍu in the course of his *digvijaya*.[33] Three Copper Plates found at Pālī,

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Iṭagi and Dharwar also refer to his reign and purport to register some land-gifts in favour of *Brāhmaṇas.*[34]

These plates are said to be spurious because of inconsistency in dating and the characters.[35] A study of the available records relating to Vinayāditya's time marks out the vast extent of his empire, as might be evident from the find-spots of the land-grants recorded in these. It would appear that this Chālukyan ruler not only retained the kingdom inherited from his father, but had actually converted it into an extensive empire with the addition of the territory regained in conquests. These may now be considered in detail.

Important Events

The Conquest of Trairājya Kāñchīpati

The traditional clash between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas had continued in Vinayāditya's time, and he is said to have shattered the army of *trairājya Pallava* (*Kāñchīpati*) or the three kingdoms under the Pallava influence.[35] This phrase is also equated by some scholars with *avanīpatitritaya* which occurs in the records of Vikramāditya I.[37] It has been proposed earlier that the two imply different meanings.[38] In fact, the second phrase, i.e., *avanīpatitritaya* would refer to the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas, while the other phrase refers to these Southern powers with the Pallavas having the upper hand.[39] The first one could only imply three kingdoms, while the other one refers to four kingdoms in the South.

Fleet, Kielhorn, Krishna Sastri, Pathak and other scholars took it to mean three Tamil kingdoms of the Cholas, the Keralas (Cheras) and the Pāṇḍyas.[40] Dubreuil suggests that it refers to the Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Siṁhala prince Mānavarmā, a fugitive prince of Ceylon, who had sought asylum at the Pallava Court.[41] According to Venkataramanayya and others, the expression stands for the organisation[42] of the Pallava kingdom by which the three members of the royal family had definite places assigned to them, namely, *adhirāja*, *yuvarāja* and *muturāja*. The last one points to the senior member of the family acting as the regent or guardian of the minor king, who looked after state administration in exceptional and

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urgent circumstances.[43] This contention on the basis of the Sanskrit compound appears to be hypothetical and untenable. It cannot be supported on the basis of evidence at our disposal. Further, the development of the office of *Muturāja* is a later one, and there is no reference to it in the Pallava records, so as to warrant such an assumption. As regards the reference to the Ceylonese prince Mānavarmā, who could not figure in the political controversies, it may be said that he was only a refugee in the Pallava Court, not entitled to any regal status.[44] Moreover, the Pallavas are mentioned in the same compound and this rules out his inclusion among the *trairājya* altogether. As such, the phrase refers to the three Tamil States in the South and the Pallavas of Kāñchī, and not merely the three Tamil States, as proposed by the above-mentioned scholars.

The above meaning is not only corroborated by the records of Vinayāditya and his successors, but also emphatically stressed by the phrase '*Chola Chera Pāṇḍya, Kramāgatarājyatraya*' occurring in several Chālukyan epigraphs referring to Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha and his sons.[45] The commentator of Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* also suggests the same meaning of this phrase, i.e., 'the triad of three kings'.[46] According to H.C. Raichaudhuri, it however points to a confederacy of the Southern powers with the Pallava king having the upper or supreme hand.[47] It is, therefore, more appropriate to take it as a *Bahuvrīhi* compound indicating three kingdoms of the South, besides the Pallavas.

It follows from the above that at the command of his father, Vinayāditya defeated the confederacy of these Southern powers, viz., the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pāṇḍyas headed by the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī, i.e., Parameśvaravarman.[48] This event seems to have occurred at the time when the Chālukyan king as the *yuvarāja* commanded the Chālukyan army and was successful in breaking the confederacy of the Southern powers, naturally resulting in a lull in Pallava-Chālukya hostility.[49]

Further Conquests

According to the Jejuri, Kolhapur and Harihara Plates, Vinayāditya brought the Pallava, Kaḷabhra, Kerala, Haihaya, Viḷa, Mālava, Chola and Pāṇḍya rulers under his suzerainty along with the traditional feudatories, the Alūpas and the

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Gaṅgas.[50] This means that the Chālukyan monarch with his prowess forced the above-mentioned rulers to become his feudatories before the date of the Jejuri Plates dated in the Śaka year 609, falling in the 9th regnal year of the king.[51] The above-noted event is confirmed by the Kolhapur Plates mentioning the receipt of the *ratnas* (tributes or presents) from the Pallavas and the *Trayarājya* (the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pāṇḍyas) of the above list.[52] The said grant is dated in the Śaka year 615 corresponding to the 13th regnal year of the king, and records the bestowal of some land by the king at the request of *Kaliṅgeti*, i.e., *Kaliṅgapati*, pointing to the supreme status of the Chālukya monarch.[53] In fact, Kaliṅga was conquered by Pulakeśin II[54] and since then it continued to acknowledge the supremacy of the Chālukyas.

The only remaining South Indian kingdom which was brought under the growing Chālukyan suzerainty was that of the Kaḷabhras whose identity is still unsettled.[55] Now coming to the North Indian power that acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chālukyas, it is certain from the Aihole *Praśasti* that the Mālavas, Lāṭas and Gurjaras were the subordinates of Pulakeśin II.[56] Dr. Sircar and others also included the Mālavas among the South Indian kings and sought to equate them with *Maḷavaraiyans* of Maḷanāḍu without assigning any reason.[57] There is no evidence to substantiate the above surmise. It appears to be a North Indian kingdom which might be identified with that of the Mālavas who were the feudatories of the Chālukyan rulers, as recorded in the Aihole *Praśasti*.[58] The break-up of Chālukyan power after Pulakeśin II's tragic death did not snap Chālukyan suzerainty over these powers. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it may be suggested that Vikramāditya and his successor Vinayāditya did exercise political influence over these powers.[59]

It is reasonable to presume that the Mālavas, Gurjaras and Lāṭas mentioned in the Aihole *Praśasti*[60] were contiguous powers living in close proximity to one another, and to the North of the Chālukyan kingdom and not to the South. This also explains why so many Chālukyan inscriptions of the time of Vinayāditya are found in the northern parts of the dominion. The Kolhapur Inscription of Vinayāditya expressly mentions that he received tributes from the Mālava king, while

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other inscriptions point to his victory over them.[61] It is likely that this Chālukyan ruler might have re-affirmed his hold over the Mālavas by dint of his force.

The Haihayas were the Kalachuris, who were earlier conquered by Maṅgaleśa.[62] The reference to them in the list of feudatories of Vinayāditya naturally suggests their political importance as a force to be reckoned with by any suzerain power. As such, it was necessary to contain their influence by making them acknowledge his overlordship. Their territory was near Tripurī which became the nucleus of their kingdom at later times. The Chālukyan ruler also roped the Kalachuris in his political net through a matrimonial alliance between his grandson Vikramāditya II and the two Haihaya princesses,[63] one of whom later on enjoyed the status of *Mahishī* and the other gave birth to the crown prince Kīrttivarman II.[64] The Viḷas, another political power defeated by Vinayāditya, lack identification.

The Kolhapur Plates of Vinayāditya also provide other details with reference to the names of the rulers bringing tributes to this monarch in his Court.[65] The list in the record includes the Pallava rulers, those of *Trairājya* (Chola, Kerala and Pāṇḍya), the *Mūshaka* king, the ruler of Lāṭa and Kāma, and also the queen of *Strīrājya*.[66] While the identity of the first four rulers is obvious, that of others might be surmised. *Mūshaka* could either be identical with the Mūlaka kingdom conquered by the Sātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Sātakarni[67] or it might signify the region through which the river *Mūsī* flowed.[68] As regards Lāṭa, it definitely signified the region to the south of the river Kim with its capital at *Navasārikā* (modern Navsārī in Gujarat).[69] It was placed under *yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śilāditya son of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha in the time of Vinayāditya.[70] Previously, too, it was subjugated by Pulakeśin II and as such continued to be a vassal state of the Chālukyas.[71] The reason which prompted Vinayāditya to place it under a Chālukyan scion is, however, inexplicable. The Kāma king probably represented Kammarāshṭra covering the Guntur region of Andhra Pradesh. The identity of the woman ruler attending on this Chālukyan monarch could not be established. It may, however, be conjectured that she represented the country beyond the *Vālukā Samudra* probably representing

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the Rann of Cutch, which is recorded by Kalhaṇa with reference to the conquest of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. This area was contiguous to the territory under Vinayāditya's influence.

Supremacy over Kamera, Pārasīka and Siṁhala

Next, Vinayāditya is said to have levied tributes on the island-dwellers of Kavera (Kamera), Pārasīka and Siṁhala.[72] This fact is evident from his son's Jammaḷagāma or the Kasar-Sirasi Plates issued from Rāsenapura in the Śaka year 619 falling in the 1st regnal year of Vijayāditya, corresponding to 3rd April A.D. 697.[73] The expressions recording these events are also mentioned in several records belonging to the reigns of Vikramāditya II and Kīrttivarman II.[74] On the basis of these records, it might be proposed that Vinayāditya, in the last phase of his reign, was able to cast his influence over the island-dwellers (ruler—*dvipadhipaḥ*) of Kavera, Pārasīka and Siṁhala. Scholars have questioned the correctness of this information without going deeper into the question.[75] In fact, there appears to be some element of truth in the expression relating to the Chālukyan ruler's enterprise across the seas.

Siṁhala definitely connotes the island of Ceylon and fugitive Ceylonese prince Mānavarman is known to have fought with Pallava Narasiṁhavarman[76] against Pulakeśin II. With the help of the Pallava monarch this fugitive prince had regained the throne of Anurādhāpura and ruled upto A.D. 703, only to be removed from power once again.[77] It is suggested by Saletore that Mānavarman, the fugitive prince of Ceylon, who was earlier acknowledging the supremacy of the Pallavas, had to turn to Vinayāditya when the latter defeated the Pallava ruler and *Trairājya* kings; and the Chālukyan monarch helped him to regain his ancestral throne in Siṁhala.[78] On the other hand, Sircar proposed that Vinayāditya actually helped an adversary of Mānavarman who had allied himself with the Pallavas.[79] In any case, the Chālukyan influence and political supremacy over Ceylon seem to be an established fact; and they must be realising tribute from the Ceylonese monarch by way of his claim or authority over him.

As regards the *Pārasīkas*, one might suggest that they signified the people of Persian origin who had settled on the coastal

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land of India.[80] Rice, editing the Vakkaleri Plates, equates them with the branch of the Pallavas ruling over some island in the South, which seems untenable.[81] Some scholars suggest that the *Pārasīkas* are said to have ruled over an island off the coast of Ceylon, while others believe them to have occupied some part of Ceylon or some island bordering South India.[82] The reference to the *Pārasīkas* settling down at Sañjān in Thana district of Mahārāshṭra is known to us.[83] Therefore, it might be proposed that as the *Pārasīkas* are said to be the island-dwellers, it would not be far from truth to identify them with the Persian dwellers of Sañjan near Bassein, an island near Bombay, where Persians are said to have emigrated from Khurāsān in A.D. 735.[84] As the date suggested above by Smith is conjectural, it might be proposed that the Persian emigrants started settling down at Sañjān from the last quarter of the seventh century from whom Vinayāditya might have realised tribute.

The word *Kamera* is also read as *Kavera* by certain scholars in the dynastic records of the Chālukyas.[85] Rice equated *Kavera* with an island in the river Kāverī,[86] while Saletore accepts the name of island as *Kamera* and regards it as the Kannada rendering of *Khmer*, a part of Cambodia[87] in Indo-China. The conquest over *Kavera* or *Kamera* need not be brushed aside.[88] While it might not have been possible for the Chālukyan ruler to push his arms across the Bay of Bengal and Malaysia to Indo-China, it could be possible that there were Khmer-traders who might have temporarily settled down on the western coast and were paying tributes and taxes to Vinayāditya, in view of the assertion in the Kolhapur Grant that Vinayāditya's exploits (*apādāna*) of *Trairājya* formed the theme of the festive songs of the intoxicated damsels of the *Kamera* country.[89]

We, no doubt, find a reference to an embassy from the Chālukyan ruler named *Chi-Lu-Khi-Pa-Lo*, i.e., Chālukya Vallabha, visiting China in the year 692, as recorded by Matwan-lin.[90] It must have passed through Indo-China or the Khmer (Kambuja) country but that need not imply the conquest of this country, called island-dwellers of Khmer (a Kannada variation of Kamera).[91]

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The North Indian Expedition

Vinayāditya also appears to have made an attempt to invade Northern India. The inscriptions belonging to the reigns of Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya II and Kīrttivarman II refer to his victory over a ruler of all the regions of *Uttarāpatha*, i.e., Northern India.[92] In the absence of specific mention of the name of that ruler, it is suggested that the inscriptions simply exaggerate the conquest of Vinayāditya.[93] This event certainly belongs to the last phase of the reign of the Chālukyan monarch as we do not find it referred to in the Paṭodā Plates dated in the Śaka year 617 falling in the 14th regnal year.[94] The earliest inscription which speaks of this conquest of Vinayāditya is the Kasar-Sirasi Plates dated in the Śaka year 619 falling in the 1st regnal year of Vijayāditya, son of Vinayāditya.[95] It follows from the above that Vinayāditya successfully defeated a North Indian monarch between the Śaka years 617 and 619, i.e., some time approximately in the Śaka year 618, which is the last regnal year of Vinayāditya.

Several Chālukyan records confirm Vinayāditya's conquest of North India and the defeat of an unnamed paramount ruler.[96] There is, however, no confirmation of this fact in any North Indian record. We have, therefore, to evaluate the political circumstances in the North at that time to warrant or deny such an assumption. It is, no doubt, clear that immediately after Harsha's death, the country had relapsed into political instability, inviting for the first time an attack from the combined Nepalese and Tibetan forces, ransacking Magadha, as recorded by Ma-twan-lin.[97] As against this disintegrated state of affairs in the North, the position in the Deccan was different, with the Chālukyas establishing themselves as a paramount power. Naturally after defeating the states in the South, the attention of the Chālukyas was diverted towards the North, and Vinayāditya was anxious to emulate the example of his grandfather, Pulakeśin II, in crossing swords against the so-called paramount ruler of Āryāvarta. As the majority of his plates are issued from the northern portions of his empire, it is natural to presume that he was rallying his forces in close proximity to the territory of this North Indian ruler. In this connection, the Nasik Plates of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha, uncle of Vinayāditya, who was his

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feudatory, refer to the conquest and extermination of the entire army of *Vajjaḍa* with his bright-tipped arrows,[98] in the region between the rivers Narmadā and Māhī in A.D. 685. Such an aggressive step taken by Jayasiṁha was impossible without the active military support of his overlord. In fact, it seems very likely that this campaign was master-minded by Vinayāditya himself who was anxious to push his arms towards the North ever since the beginning of his reign.[99] Some time seems to have elapsed after Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha's conquest of Vajjaḍa or Vajraṭa (A.D. 685)[100] and Vinayāditya's further conquest in the North under the generalship of his son Vijayāditya, as is recorded in the Kasar-Sirasi Plates of A.D. 696.[101] Unfortunately, the name of the ruler in the later campaign is not mentioned in any Chālukyan records, though his status as a paramount sovereign is no doubt recorded, as is evident from the title *Sakalottarāpathanātha*. In this battle, the crown prince Vijayāditya distinguished himself as a warrior and brought much booty which he presented to his father, besides the 'Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Pālidhvaja*', an insignia of supremacy.[102]

The Chālukyan records, however, do not mention the name of *Sakalottarāpathanātha* vanquished by Vinayāditya. This led to doubting its veracity by scholars.[103] According to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, the reference to this North Indian conquest and the defeat of the paramount sovereign is an exaggerated statement, not uncommon in *praśastis*.[104] Further, if the conquest be accepted as true, then the conquered ruler might be Vajraṭa mentioned in the records of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga.[105] This identification could be questioned on political grounds. The Chālukyan records expressly refer to a paramount ruler of the North (*Sakalottarāpathanātha*), who was defeated by Vinayāditya some time in or about A.D. 695, but this Vajraṭa is not attributed the high-sounding title of *Sakalottarāpathanātha* in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records.[106] It is likely that the Vajraṭa of the Samangarh Plates might be the *Vajjaḍa* of the Nasik record who was ruling somewhere between the rivers Māhī and Narmadā, and as such, he could not be the paramount ruler of the North.[107] Besides, the Vajjaḍa or Vajraṭa was exterminated by the Chālukyas in or about A.D. 685,[108] while the North Indian adversary of Vinayāditya was humbled between the Śaka years 617 and 619 (A.D. 695 to 697), as is

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evident from the joint testimony[109] of the Paṭodā and Kasar-Sirasi Plates. We have, therefore, to look for some other person who could be identified as this *Sakalottarāpathanātha.*

According to Dr. R.C. Majumdar, he was Yaśovarman of Kanauj, whose date is controversial.[110] In the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākapati, there is a reference to his conquest of a Southern king whose name is not mentioned; but the battle seems to have taken place in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab.[111] This would imply the incursions of the South Indian power into the territory of the Kanauj ruler, rather than the campaigns undertaken by Yaśovarman in the South. Further, the Chālukyan records suggest that Vijayāditya, the Chālukya crown prince, was taken prisoner and he managed to escape like Vatsarāja, probably a legendary figure.[112] In the light of these facts, the victory of either is extremely doubtful, though it is claimed by both in their *praśastis.* This led Dr. Majumdar to suggest that as both the sides claim victory over each other and Yaśovarman was the lord of *Uttarāpatha,* therefore he might be the *Sakalottarāpathanātha* of the Chālukyan records.[113] But this is untenable for the following reasons: First, the date of Yaśovarman is not settled.[114] It is related to the Karkoṭaka contemporary Lalitāditya assigned to the period between A.D. 722 and 752.[115] The earliest date assigned to Yaśovarman is A.D. 695.[116] It is not correct to presume that an opportunist soldier like Yaśovarman could muster enough strength to cross swords with the mighty Chālukyan army under the able leadership of Vinayāditya and his son Vijayāditya.

According to Dr. Sircar, the identification of the North Indian adversary of the Chālukyan king is uncertain. He suggests that in the absence of the personal name of the adversary, it is likely that there must have been several rulers against whom Vinayāditya waged war and won nominal victory.[117] This is not possible because the records definitely speak of a single ruler, who was noted for his paramountcy and status. The Chālukyan records are specific on this point. H.C. Raichaudhuri, however, proposed that in view of the imperial titles taken by Ādityasena and his son, this later Gupta ruler or his son Devagupta was the *Sakalottarāpathanātha* defeated by the Chālukya Vinayāditya.[118] To substantiate his contention, he quotes the Aphsad and Deo-Barnark Inscriptions,

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which no doubt accord imperial titles on both of them;[119] and they were rulers of Magadha and Kanauj, thus conquering the Gangetic basin (as Gaṅgā-Yamunā Pālidhvaja might suggest) when this ruler was engaged in a clash with the Tibetans, as mentioned by Ma-twan-lin.[120] This suggestion is accepted by Saletore as well,[121] and happens to be most probable under the circumstances. His date, according to the Shahpur Inscription, is A.D. 672-73 and he ruled upto A.D. 703, when he repulsed the Tibetans.[122] Thus, it coincides with the period of Vinayāditya.

The sudden death of Vinayāditya, most probably in the course of his return from the Northern campaign, was marked by the state of political anarchy in his empire. This is evident from the records of his son Vijayāditya and the successor of the latter.[123] According to these sources, Vijayāditya was taken prisoner by the enemies[124] and when he had returned, had an uphill task of ensuring political stability in his empire. It seems reasonable in view of the Kasar-Sirasi Plates[125] and the circumstances which followed his death detailed above, that either he died immediately after the Northern conquest or before he could reach his capital in the later part of A.D. 696.[126]

Vinayāditya was not only a distinguished warrior, who had fought several battles and pushed his arms in the South as well as in the North, but also a benevolent and tolerant ruler, interested in patronising men of letters and artistic talent, and showing respect to all religions.[127] In fact, his daughter, Kuṁkumamahādevī, was married to a feudatory of his—the Alūpa king Chitravāhana, and she got a Jain temple constructed at Guḍigere.[128] The reason for this political instability following the death of this ruler was due to his personality, and not to the politics pursued by him in his realm so as to create disaffection and discontentment amongst his people.

Vijayāditya

Vijayāditya, the next ruler, was the son of Vinayāditya and his queen Vinayavatī. Described as a dear son (*Priyātmaja*),[129] he was associated with the administration from the time of his grandfather Vikramāditya I, by looking after the kingdom and metropolis, in the absence of his father and grandfather who

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were engaged in battles against the Pallavas.[130] As a young prince, he had his share of training in civil administration as well as on the battle-field. He was appointed heir-apparent before the Śaka year 613, as is evident from the Karnul Grant of Vinayāditya, which refers to him as a crown prince in the bestowal of the grant.[131] His long reign of 37 years annulled scores of records ranging from the 1st year of his reign to the 36th year.[132]

This Chālukyan monarch is given family *virudas* of *Śrīprithivīvallabha* and *Satyāśraya* and the Imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, sometimes with the prefix *Parama* added to the last one.[133] While the Kannada records call him *Bhaṭāra*,[134] the unusual epithet of *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, i.e , 'the refuge of the universe', is also attributed to him for his curbing the pride of his enemies, his liberality and absence of any blemish in his character. As such he was possessed of the three powers (*śaktitraya*).[135] He really deserved such a paramount epithet because of his increased royal status, influence and political hegemony, as compared to his predecessors. He is also bestowed the *viruda* of *Sāhasarasika*.[136]

Date of Accession

As his Jammalagāma or Kasar-Sirasi Plates dated in *Vaiśākha Purṇamāsī* Śaka year 619, corresponding to the 3rd April 697, fall in the 1st regnal year of king Vijayāditya, it may be assumed that he ascended the throne some time after April A.D. 696 and before the date of the above grant.[137] According to Fleet, Panchmukhi, Nandimatha and Sastri, he seems to have started his rule some time in July A.D. 696.[138] This view appears to be based on the testimony of the Aihole Huchchimalli Gudī Temple Inscription dated in the 3rd month of the 13th regnal year.[139] As Vinayāditya died a little after A.D. 695,[140] it is evident that he was succeeded by Vijayāditya in A.D. 696. This Chālukyan monarch ruled for not less than 36 years and at least upto the Śaka year 653, i.e., A.D. 731-32, as is evident from one of his grants dated in the above-mentioned year.[141] According to the Lakshmeśvar Inscription of *Māgha Purṇamāsī* Śaka year 656=the 24th January A.D. 734, Vikramāditya II was in his 2nd regnal year on the above date,[142] so

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he seems to have ruled for thirty-seven years some time upto A.D. 733.

Vijayaditya had the longest rule, and so also the largest number of records numbering about forty.[143] He also had a comparatively peaceful reign. The earliest record is the Kasar-Sirasi Plates dated in Śaka 619 falling in the first regnal year of the king. Issued from Rāsenapura, at the request of Narendrāditya, it records for the first time the Chālukyan conquest of the North.[144] The next inscription is engraved on a stone at Chāṇḍana in the Tadpatri taluka of Anantpur, pointing to the Chālukyan supremacy over Gaṅga-Renāḍu. It is dated in the 2nd regnal year of the king.[145] Another record referring to the 2nd regnal year of the Chālukyan monarch is the Niṭṭuru Inscription. It refers to the Bāṇa Feudatory ruling over Vaṁguru *vishaya*.[146] The next inscription dated in the 3rd regnal year of the king falling in Śaka 621 is on a pillar from Badami, and refers to the queen-mother Vinayavatī and installation of the triad of Hindu gods (*Brahmā*, *Vishṇu* and *Maheśa*) at Vāṭāpi.[147] Another record from Koṭṭapalle in Anantpur district refers to the 3rd regnal year of the Chālukyan king and mentions his Bāṇa feudatory ruling over Vaṁguru vishaya.[148] Two sets of Copper Plates and a Stone Inscription refer to his 4th regnal year falling in the Śaka year 622. These plates from Mayalūr in Karnul district[149] and Nerur in Ratnagiri[150] record the gifting of the land by the ruler. The Stone Inscription from Koṭṭuru in Tadapatri taluka of Anantpur district, besides mentioning the gifted village as '*Pannasa*', also refers to Bāṇarāja.[151]

The next record is the Raygad Plates dated in Śaka 625, 8th regnal year corresponding to 8th September A.D. 703. It was issued from Marivasati in Karṇāṭaka and registers the gift of the village named Jalla Nirulaṇa in *Talitaṭaṭāhāra vishaya*.[152] A *vīragal* from Beṅkankoṇḍa also refers to the 8th regnal year of the king.[153] The Elapura Grant of this Chālukyan monarch registers the gift of 50 *nivartanas* of land and a village named Bahamanavatagrāma on *Pausha Purṇamāsī* Śaka year 626 falling in his 9th regnal year.[154] The next epigraph in chronological order is Cholachaguḍa or Bāgalkot Plates dated in the Śaka year 627 falling in the 10th regnal year of the king. It mentions the grant of land at the request of Kuṁkumadevi,

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sister of the king and wife of the Alūpa feudatory Chitravāhana.[155] Another set of plates of the same date and regnal year is from Nerur in Ratnagiri in Maharashtra and registers the royal command concerning the gift of the village Hikulamba (?) at the request of Upendra.[156]

The Chālukyan monarch's visit to Banavāsī to see his brother-in-law and feudatory Alūpa king Chitravāhana, the husband of Kuṁkumadevi in the Śaka year 630 falling in 11th regnal year is recorded in the Shiggaon Plates.[157] It also refers to his confirming certain gifts to the Jain monastery at Purigeṛe, built by Kuṁkumadevi, at the instance of the above-mentioned Alūpa *sāmanta*. The next record referring to the *Aśvayuja Purṇamāsī*, falling in the third month of the 13th regnal year of the king, is from Huchchimalli Guḍi Temple from Aihole. It helps us in fixing the accession of the king in July A.D. 696.[158] The Satara Plates record the donation of the village named Karuva and a field to Bhānudeva at the request of the crown prince Vikramāditya II from his victorious camp at Karahaṭakanagara, i.e., modern Karaḍ in Satara district in Maharashtra. The above plates were issued on *Kārttika Purṇamāsī* Śaka 632=the 12th October A.D. 710, falling in the 14th regnal year of the king.[159] The Alampur Inscription from Mehbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh also furnishes two dates of his reign, i.e., Śaka year 635 and 13th *tithi* of *Śuklapaksha Vaiśākha* of the Śaka year 636=the Friday 13th May A.D. 713; falling in the 18th regnal year of the king.[160] The epigraph states that at the command of the emperor Vijayāditya, the teacher Isanāchārya constructed an enclosure on the above specified date.[161] The Bopgāon Plates from Sāswad in the Poona district of Maharashtra register the grant of the village Nirguṇḍī in Samaragiri *vishaya* on *Chaitra Purṇamāsī Saṁkrānti*, Śaka year 640=the 21st March A.D. 718 falling in the 22nd regnal year of the king.[162]

The next record is the Stone Inscription from Koṇḍupallī in the Anantpur district. It records the gift of some land, while Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja of Balikula was governing Turumara *vishaya* in the 23th regnal year of the Chālukya overlord.[163] The next date of his reign is furnished by the Lakshmeśvara Stone Tablet Inscription dated in the Śaka year 645 and 28th regnal year of the king.[164] Another epigraph from

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Lakshmeśvara in Dharwar records the gift of the village Kardam, south of Pulikeṛe, to Vinayāditya's priest Udayadeva Paṇḍita (Niravadya Paṇḍita), a disciple of Pujyapada of Devaguṇa sect, for the benefit of the temple of Śaṅkha Jinendra on the *Phālguṇa Purṇimā* of Śaka year 651 = the 8th February A.D. 729 falling in the 34th regnal year of the king.[165] Next in order is the Ulchala Stone Inscription, dated in the 35th regnal year of the king, which mentions that the crown prince Vikramāditya II went on an expedition to Kāñchī, and levied tribute from the Pallavas. Further, while returning he presented Ulchala and Pariyālu to Durvinīta Eṛeyappa for granting certain concessions.[166] The last dated record is a set of plates referring to the 36th regnal year of the king dated on *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī* Śaka year 653 = Thursday, 26th April, A.D. 731.[167] The above plates record the gift of some land from the royal camp at Raktapura. An undated set of plates from Nerur registers the command jointly issued by the king and the crown prince Vikramāditya II, recording the gift of the village of Malavūra to *Brāhmaṇa* Śaivaditya Dīkshita.[168]

Among his numerous undated Stone Inscriptions, mention may be made of the Mahākūṭa Temple Inscription referring to the gift by Vīnapoti, a harlot, described as the heart's darling of Vijayāditya.[169] Another undated inscription is from Ganajūr in Haveri taluka of Dharwar district, which seems to record the dubbing ceremony (of a chief).[170] The Kurtākoṭī Stone Slab Inscription of his time refers to Loketinimmadi, who was governing the Kuruttakuṇṭe and Mupamna.[171] Sastri indentifies her with Lokamahādevī, chief queen of Vikramāditya II.[172] The two *vīragals* from two different villages in Dharwar district of Karnataka, Ranibennur and Jakkali, commemorate the death of two heroes.[173] The Bannikop (Dharwar district) mentions certain (Pa)gana, who built a temple and installed therein the god Nandīśvara.[174] A Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Halageri in Kopbaḷ introduces a certain officer of Kopana and Guṭṭi named Garoja, holding the office of Karaṇam (secretary).[175] The Chippagiri Bhogeśvara Temple Stone Inscription records a grant consisting of 50 *mattaras* of land and a flower garden.[176] Another gift by the king made in favour of Bhupāditya is recorded in the Danavalapāḍu Stone Slab Inscription.[177] The Beṭapallī Stone Inscription mentions certain gift of land to

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Taḷereyar by Vikramāditya, the uncle of Bāṇarāja, ruling as the king's vassal in Turamara *vishaya*.[178] Two undated records from Nandaḷapādu and Kammavaripalle villages in Anantpur district mention gifts of land to the *Brāhmaṇas*.[179] An inscription from Raichur district in Andhra Pradesh refers to Murujati of Kopana and the Chief of *Guṭṭi*.[180]

The Lakshmeśvara Pillar Inscription of Prince Vikramāditya II mentions the code of conduct (*āchāra vyavasthe*) between government officials and mahājanas.[181] It also sheds light on local administration with special reference to levies and taxes. The last genuine inscription of this ruler is from Paṭṭaḍakal which refers to the heir-apparent Vikramāditya II, and registers the grant of a stone throne and of a bracelet to the idol of the temple of Lokapaleśvara, built[182] by Anantaguṇa.

Besides the above-mentioned records, there is one which, however, is considered to be spurious. This includes a set of plates from Boargaon dated in Śaka year 520 recording the gift of the village Nagarasaige to Govardhana (?) by the king.[183] This is said to be spurious being irregular in the characters and faulty in date.[184]

Important Events

The dynastic records of this ruler as well as those of his son Vikramāditya II and grandson Kīrttivarman II record this ruler's talents and his experience in handling arms and armaments since his childhood.[185] In fact, he commanded the forces for the Northern Indian expedition of his father. He accomplished the task entrusted to him very skilfully and was successful against his adversaries[186] snatching from them the emblem of Gaṅgā-Yamunā Pālidhvaja which was duly[187] presented to his father. Soon afterwards, his father died, though the place and the circumstances of his death are nowhere recorded. One curious incident noticed in this context is the captivity of Vijayāditya himself by the fleeing enemies and his subsequent escape through his own prowess.[188] His attempt is contrasted with that of one Vatsarāja (the ruler of Vatsa, i.e., Udayana) of *Svapnavāsavadattā* and *Pratijñya Yaugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa, who solicited the help of his chief minister and Vāsavadattā too.[189] The time between the period of captivity and release is

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not mentioned, though the inscriptions do point to a state of insecurity between the death of Vinayāditya and the succession of Vijayāditya.[190] It is, however, clear that the Chālukyan monarch, who seems to have been away from the Chālukyan metropolis, managed to secure his throne through his own prowess, skill and diplomacy.[191] Inscriptions especially record his three talents, namely, influence, enterprise and good counsel. He pulled his empire out of the slough of insecurity, instability and kinglessness.[192]

The Renewal of Pallava-Chālukya Conflict

The reign of the Chālukyan ruler Vijayāditya was hitherto taken as peaceful, but of late there is new evidence pointing to the renewal of the traditional Pallava-Chālukya clash in his time too, though in the latter part of his reign. This is evident from the Ulchala Stone Slab Inscription dated in the 35th regnal year (A.D. 730-731) of Vijayāditya.[193] It records that the heir-apparent Vikramāditya II went on an expedition to Kāñchī before this date, as this mentions the aggressive role of the Chālukyas and the defeat of the Pallava ruler Parameśvaravarman II (A.D. 722-738).[194] There is also a reference to the Gaṅga prince Durvinīta Eṟeyappa, who seems to have accompanied the Chālukya victor, and was duly rewarded for his assistance in the campaign. This consisted of the territories of Ulchala and Pariyala. The Pallava ruler was also forced to pay tribute to the Chālukyan monarch.[195] This is not a solitary evidence relating to the clash between these two southern powers. We also learn from the Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription of Lokamahādevī, wife of Vikramāditya II, that her husband thrice conquered Kāñchī, the Pallava metropolis.[196] This was the first of the three expeditions undertaken by Vikramāditya II recorded in his chief queen's inscriptions.[197] Its date could well be settled on the basis of the reference to the defeated Pallava king Parameśvaravarman II (A.D. 722-730)[198] and the date of the Ulchala Inscription, viz., A.D. 731. It is, therefore, likely that the expedition might have been undertaken some time between A.D. 727 and 730, as the Pallava ruler also tried to settle scores with the Ganga king Śrīpurusha, father of Durvinīta Eṟeyappa, at the battle of Vilande, which ended in his death.[199] The Pallavas,

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therefore, were compelled to play a pacific role in the Southern political wrangles.

The Chālukyan monarch, thus, had the upper hand and his political influence considerably increased. This is equally evident from the title *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, i.e., 'the refuge of the entire earth' taken by him for the first and last time.[200] While the Southern powers lay prostrate at his feet, there was no strong ruler in the North to question his supremacy after the defeat of this unknown *Sakalottarāpathanātha* who is proposed to be identified with Ādityasena.[201] The Chālukyan empire under him seems to have considerably extended in his time including Gujarat and Lāṭa in the Northern India, and extending upto the territory of the Eastern Chālukyas, and from Central India upto the outskirts of Kāñchī.

This extensive empire was governed through the help of the feudatories and the scions of the family, who are mentioned in the records. These include, besides the traditional ones, the Alūpa, Gaṅgā, Sendraka,[202] Bāṇa chiefs,[203] Telugu-Chola of Renadu;[204] others were Narendrāditya,[205] Upendra[206] and Bhupāditya[207] who requested the monarch to make grants of land to certain individuals and institutions. The Alūpa king, a relation of Vijayāditya, was made governor of the area around Banavāsī (Shiggaon Plates);[208] while the viceroy of the Lāṭa area was Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa,[209] the Purī-Koṅkaṇa area was ruled by Bhogaśakti of the Harish Chandra dynasty.[210]

Vijayāditya's peaceful reign was equally noted for many-sided activities in art and culture. The ruler was broad-minded and tolerant enough to patronise different religions. In his time the temple building activities also received impetus. The ruler himself built a great Śiva temple at Paṭṭaḍakal, which was named after him as Vijayeśvara.[211] Curiously enough, this temple exists even now, though under the name of Saṅgameśvara, probably renamed during the reign of his grandson Kīrttivarman II, whose inscription at Paṭṭaḍakal begins with the invocation to *Hara-Gaurī Saṅgama*.[212] The Alampur Inscription of the Śaka year 636 states that at the command of the emperor Vijayāditya, Īśānāchārya constructed a prākārabandha (enclosure), evidently to the Śaiva temple at Alampur.[213] According to the Badami Pillar Inscription of Vijayāditya, queen mother Vinayavati installed the images of *Brahmā, Vishṇu* and

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Maheśvara at Vāṭāpi.[214] The Banikop Inscription refers to the installation of the images of Nandisvara during the rule of Vijayāditya.[215] Several copper plates issued by this Chālukyan monarch granting land to the *Brāhmaṇas* and religious persons from different camps point to his patronising those engaged in religious activities.

Vijayāditya equally patronised Jainism. The Lakshmeśvar Inscription of the Śaka year 651 records that from the victorious camp at Raktapura, this Chālukyan monarch gifted the village Kardam, south of Pulikere, to his father's priest Udayadeva Paṇḍita, pupil of Pūjyapāda,[216] and belonged to the Devaguṇa branch of Mūlasaṁgha, for the benefit of the temple of Śaṅkha Jinendra at Pulikere. The Jain Guru Pūjyapāda might be the celebrated author of the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa*.[217] The Shiggaon Plates were issued by the king in favour of the Jain monastery constructed by Kuṁkumadevi (sister of Vijayāditya) at Purigeṟe at the request of the Alūpa Chitravāhana, the husband of the above-mentioned lady, when Vijayāditya had gone to Banavāsī to see his brother-in-law.[218] This Chālukyan king also gifted the village of Lohagajja Vāṭaka to Somaśarmā at the request of Kuṁkumadevi, as is evident from the Bāgalkot Plates.[219]

Vijayāditya was a patron of fine arts and encouraged music and learning. A record of his son and successor Vikramāditya II mentions the renewal of a grant earlier made by his father to the musicians of Paṭṭaḍakal.[220] The king had a soft corner for a talented and beautiful courtesan named Vinapoti, who is actually mentioned as his *prāṇa-vallabhe* in the Mahākūṭa Inscription of his time, who actually gave an endowment as a token of her religious piety.[221]

Vikramāditya II

Emperor Vijayāditya was succeeded by his dear son (*priyasūnuḥ* or *priyaputraḥ*) Vikramāditya II.[222] He was appointed heir-apparent before A.D. 710, as suggested by the Satara Plates dated in the 14th regnal year of his father falling in the Śaka year 632. Here Vikramāditya II requests his father to make the grant mentioned in the said plates.[223] Thus, this Chālukyan ruler was actively associated with the administration

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of the empire for more than 23 years.[224] In the other record from Lakshmeśvar, this crown prince deputises for his father by consenting to the code of conduct (*āchāra vyavasthā*) for the officers and *mahājanas* of that locality.[225] He had also headed the Chālukyan army which successfully invaded the Pallava territory during the later phase of his father's time.[226] It follows from the above references that he was properly trained in civil and military matters before his consecration.

It is equally necessary to mention his family relations for the purpose of assessing his political involvements. Having married two princesses of the Haihayas, named Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī, he had naturally the support of this power. The younger sister was the mother of the heir-apparent Kīrttivarman II;[227] while the elder one probably looked after the administration of the region named Kuruttakuṇṭe, as is recorded in the Kurtākotī Inscription[228] Vikramāditya II probably had a brother named Bhīma from whom the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī claimed their descent, though the evidence on this point from the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Badami is wanting.[229]

The dynastic records credit him with the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* besides the family epithets of *Satyāśraya* and *Śrīprithivīvallabha* or *Vallabha* and *Śrīvallabha*. He is called *Vallabha durjaya*, i.e., 'the unrepulsable lord' and *Kāñchiyan Koḍu*, i.e., 'the captor of Kāñchī'.[230] The last attribute was probably an answer to the Pallava epithet *Vāṭāpi-Koṇḍa* taken by the Pallava ruler Narasiṁhavarman.[231] It may as well be mentioned that the epithet *Samastabhuvanāśraya* associated with Vijayāditya is missing in the list of titles accorded to Vikramāditya II and Kīrttivarman II. The reason for this lapse is, however, wanting; though it could be due to the waning of the Chālukyan influence in the North.

The Date of Accession

The date of Vikramāditya II's accession to the throne could no doubt be fixed on the basis of his two dated inscriptions from Lakshmeśvar and Narwaṇ.[232] He was fairly old at that time since he was the crown prince for more than 23 years. The first record is the Lakshmeśvar Stone Inscription issued on

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Māgha Paurṇamāsī of the Śaka year 656 in the 2nd regnal year of the king corresponding to Sunday, 24th January, A.D. 734.[233] It suggests that the first regnal year of the king was in the beginning of A.D. 733. The Narwaṇ Plates dated in Śaka year 664 in the 8th regnal year of the king, issued on the occasion of the Sun turning to the North and corresponding to 21st December, A.D. 741 would help in fixing his accession in A.D. 734.[234] It may, therefore, be proposed that Vikramāditya II ascended the throne in A.D. 734. The genuineness of the Lakshmeśvar Inscription is, however, questioned by Fleet because of its late characters.[235] This does not seem to be true since the date appears to be correct on the basis of the astronomical calculations. As such, the date of accession proposed earlier, viz., A.D. 734, seems much probable.[236]

Inscriptions

The events of the reign of this Chālukyan ruler are found in as many as eighteen records.[237] The earliest one dated in his 1st regnal year is a Stone Inscription found at Tippalūru in Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh.[238] It registers a *Pannasa* gift at Marraluru by Annarapule-Vimbulu to a *Brāhmaṇa* of Vengi, when Poramukharāma was overrunning the territory up to the river Penna on behalf of the Bāṇa king, a feudatory of Vikramāditya II. The next one is the Lakshmeśvar Stone Inscription dated on *Māgha Paurṇamāsī*, the Śaka year 656 in the 2nd regnal year of the king, corresponding to Sunday, 24th January, A.D. 734. It records the repairing and embellishment of *Śveta Jinālaya* at Sankha tīrtha Vasati at Pulikere and also registers the gift of 50 *nivartanas* of land to Vijayadeva Paṇḍita of Devaguṇa sect and Mūlasaṁgha lineage.[239] The only set of Copper Plates, issued by Vikramāditya II, so far discovered, refer to his 8th regnal year falling in the Śaka year 664 and corresponding to 21st December, A.D. 741. It was found at Narwaṇ in Ratnagiri district in Maharashtra, and records the gift of villages named Narwaṇa and Chindramaḍa in Chipraluṇa *vishaya* at the request of Rāshṭrakūṭa Govindarāja, son of Śivarāja.[240]

Besides these records, all others are undated though they do mention the name of Vikramāditya II. Among these, a

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viragal, found at Hire-Madhure village in Chitaldurga district of Karnataka, is important as it refers to the capture of Kāñchī.[241] The main purpose of the record is to commemorate the death of a hero named Dasiamman in this campaign by someone (name lost), who was the subordinate of Vikramādityarasar, i.e., Vikramāditya II. Another inscription which confirms the capture of Kāñchī is a record of Vikramāditya from that place itself, and engraved on the back wall of a pillar of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the famous Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Canjeevaram.[242] It records that after the conquest of Kāñchī, Vikramāditya II did not confiscate the property of Rājasiṁheśvara temple but returned it to the god. The edict is written by Anivārita Puṇyavallabha, under the authority of Vallabhadurjaya. Two inscriptions referring to this Chālukyan monarch have also been found at Aihole.[243] The one which is in Durga Temple mentions a grant in favour of Āditya, the priest of the temple, while the other one records only a few names besides Vikramāditya,[244] Bhaṭāra.

There are as many as five inscriptions referring to the queen-consort Lokamahādevī of this Chālukyan monarch from Paṭṭaḍakal. One record confirms the earlier grant made by Vijayāditya to the singers of the locality in the enjoyment of the grants and privileges by the Chālukyan queen.[245] Another one registers a grant in favour of the temple of Lokeśvara (probably named after Lokamahādevī) by the queen during the reign of Vikramāditya II.[246] A third one from Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭaḍakal refers to queen Lokamahādevī and architect named Sutradhārī, who built the temple constructed by the queen.[247] The fourth record from Paṭṭaḍakal mentions the construction of the temple by *agramahishī* in celebration of her husband Vikramāditya II, who had thrice conquered Kāñchī.[248] The last Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription from Virūpāksha Temple records that the temple of God Lokeśvara was built by Lokamahādevī, queen[249] of Vikramāditya II, of the Haihaya lineage, to the south of the temple of God Vijayeśvara.

Of the remaining epigraphs, the Stone Inscription found at Chāṇḍana in Anantpur district mentions Vāṇarāja and records some gift during the supremacy of Vikramāditya II.[250] Another record from Bhairavakoṇḍā in Karnul district mentions the setting up of the images of Gaṇapatī, Nandīśvara, and Daṇḍīś-

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vara by Kallibol during the reign of the Chālukyan ruler Vikramāditya.[251] The last four inscriptions from Devageri, Byāgavadi, Kelavarkop, and Guḍuguḍi in Dharwar district are fragmentary and seem to record some gifts or remission of cess.[252]

Important Events

Vikramāditya II, as heir-apparent, had distinguished himself in the campaign against the Pallavas, as recorded in the Ulachala Inscription of A.D. 731, in the 35th regnal year of his father.[253] His military achievement, therefore, was an asset to him in his career as a ruler of Badami. He had, however, to prove his prowess in a different capacity as well. This is evident from the reference to the Arab invasion in his time.

Arab Invasion

During the reign of Vikramāditya II, the north-western limits of the Chālukyan empire were threatened by the inroads of Arab intruders. The dynastic records do not refer to this outstanding event, but fortunately the details concerning this event are preserved in the Navsari Plates of Chālukya Pulakeśirāja, a son of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha, dated in Kalachuri year 490=A.D. 739.[254] This record vividly describes the Arab invasion and the fierce fight that took place at Navsari. Further, it refers to the *Tājika* army (Arab forces), which had plundered the Saindhavas (Sindhu kingdom), Kachchhelas (Cutch), Saurāshṭra (Kathiawada), Chavoṭakas, Mauryas, Gurjaras and other kings invading the Navsārī *vishaya* during the course of its campaign for conquering all the Southern kings.[255] Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja gave him a fierce fight somewhere near his headquarters in which he emerged victorious. In recognition of this heroic achievement of his scion and feudatory Vallabha Narendra (Vikramāditya II), the contemporary Chālukyan emperor, bestowed upon him the titles of *Dakshiṇāpathasādhara, Challukikulālaṁkara, Prithivīvallabha* and *Anivartakanivartayitri* in appreciation of his heroic achievements.[256]

The *praśasti* part of the grant includes a passage known to occur in the Gurjara Grants of the period for the first time.

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This seems to suggest that the Gurjara kingdom was annexed to the Chālukyan kingdom before the date of this grant.[257] It also suggests that Avanījanāśraya had successfully driven out the Arabs from the Gurjara territory and annexed the same to his kingdom. The last known date of the Gurjaras in that region is the Kalachuri year 486 (A.D. 736).[258] The elaborate description of the battle in the above-mentioned record points to its immediate recording after the defeat of the *Tājika* army. Therefore, the Arab invasion of the Lāṭa country must be dated some time between the Kalachuri years 486 and 490 (the date of the Navsari Grant) or A.D. 736 and 739 and might have taken place in A.D. 737 or 738. The bestowal of the title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* is rather inexplicable.[259] It might be suggestive either of his attaining independence or just a glorification. This was a great achievement and was a turning point in early mediaeval history. If the Arabs had been successful, probably it would have meant the end of Hindu rule in Western India and complete extinction of their power.

Conquest of Kāñchī

The Pallava-Chālukya hostilities were revived afresh during the reign of Vikramāditya II. The solitary Copper Plate Inscription of his reign found at Narwaṇ in Ratnagiri provides details of the Chālukyan aggression against the Pallavas.[260] These are as well confirmed by the Kendur and Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrttivarman II, the son and successor of Vikramāditya II.[261] This Chālukyan monarch is also said to have conquered Kāñchī thrice, according to an undated Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription of Lokamahādevī.[262] Now, according to the Narwaṇ Plates, Vikramāditya II, immediately after his accession to the throne, took up the responsibility of uprooting the traditional Chālukyan foes, namely, the Pallavas, and marched through the Tundāka country, and defeated Nandipotavarman, the Pallava ruler who had come to face him.[263] The Chālukyan ruler received immense booty as a result of his victory and this included precious stones, war-elephants, and the banner of martial music, *Katumukhavāditasamudraghosha*.[264] The Pallava metropolis was kept intact and the Chālukya monarch gave handsome gifts to *Brāhmaṇas*, the poor and the indigents. He also visited the temples of Kāñchī,

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especially the Rājasiṁheśvara Temple constructed by Narasiṁhavarman with stones and did not disturb these by ransacking their treasury.[265]

The above account is further corroborated by the Kāñchī Inscription of Vikramāditya II found engraved on the back wall of a pillar of the *maṇḍapa* in front of Rājasiṁheśvara Temple.[266] It mentions that after the conquest of Kāñchī, the Chālukyan monarch did not confiscate the property of Rājasiṁheśvara Temple.[267] The record is stated to be written by Anivārita Puṇyavallabha (evidently, the Chālukyan minister for peace and war, *Sandhivigrahika*), under the authority of Vallabha-durjaya, i.e., the unconquerable Chālukyan monarch (Vikramāditya II).[268] It is clear from the description of this Chālukyan conquest that it was motivated by the desire to avenge the capture of Vāṭāpi, the Chālukyan capital, earlier by Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla.[269] In fact, the Pallava Inscription engraved on the wall of Mallikārjuna Temple (Badami) dated in the 13th regnal year of Narasiṁhavarman,[270] was an irritant for Chālukyan prestige and honour. It was, therefore, necessary that Vikramāditya II should get his conquest similarly recorded in the Pallava capital at Rājasiṁheśvara Temple. Vikramāditya II, thus, paid back his hereditary enemy in the same coin.

It is difficult to fix the date of the occupation of Kāñchī and the place of the clash. The Narwaṇ Plates are dated in the Śaka year 664 = A.D. 741-42, falling in the 8th regnal year of the king[271] and the defeated Pallava ruler was none else but Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, son of Hiraṇyavarman, who is supposed to have ascended the throne of Kāñchī in A.D. 730.[272] Vikramāditya II became the Chālukyan sovereign in A.D. 733-34. As this event is not recorded in the Lakshmeśvar Inscription of the Śaka year 656 falling in the 2nd regnal year,[273] so this event must have happened between A.D. 735 and 740. The Mallam Inscription of the 15th regnal year of Nandivarman II from Gudur taluka of Nellore records a gift of gold to a temple made under the order of the Chalukki-arasar at the request of Aḷuva-arasar.[274] According to K.A.N. Sastri, this record probably points to the route taken by Vikramāditya II on his outward journey or the return one.[275] Another inscription from Tumkur district in Karnataka also refers to this expedition of Vikramāditya II,[276] which was probably the second one against the

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Pallavas amongst the three conquests referred to in the Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription of Lokamahādevī.[277]

Conquest of the Southern Powers

The Narwaṇ Plates also suggest that Vikramāditya II caused distress to some other Southern powers, namely, the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralas and Kaḷabhras, besides other kings in that region.[278] The Kendur and Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrttivarman II, the son and successor of this Chālukyan monarch, also give support to the above statement of the Narwaṇ Plates.[279] However, we do not have details of these exploits of Vikramāditya II. Probably he marched against these rulers after the capture of Kāñchī and the defeat of the Pallava ruler Nandivarman II, thus symbolising the role of his predecessors. This action might have been motivated to frustrate these Southern powers to join hands against the Chālukyas, as they did during the time of Pulakeśin II resulting in heavy loss to the Chālukyas.[280] It is as well mentioned that Vikramāditya's victory was characterised by the setting up of a *Jayastambha*, column of victory, on the sea-shore in that region.[281]

Renewal of the Pallava-Chālukya Hostilities

Vikramāditya's return to his capital after his successful expedition in the South did not ensure permanent peace in that region. The Pallavas were only marking time and were equally anxious for another round to retrieve their lost prestige. Thus, during the later part of the reign of Vikramāditya II, the Pallava-Chālukya hostilities were once again revived. The credit for the third Chālukyan campaign goes to the heir-apparent, who solicited his father's permission to proceed to the South against the family foes, i.e., Pallavas, who were raising their heads once again.[282] He was successful in defeating the contemporary Pallava ruler, Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, pushing him inside the fort of the metropolis, till he gave way.[283] The Pallavas are, however, silent on this point.[284] It is also narrated that the heir-apparent returned to the capital with a large booty consisting of the captured elephants of the enemy and a vast amount of spoils in the shape of gold and jewels and presented

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these to his ruling father Vikramāditya II.[285] It is evident that this successful Chālukyan raid of the Pallava kingdom headed by the heir-apparent Kīrttivarman II was probably the last in the series of three expeditions mentioned in the record of Lokamahādevī.[286] Thus, even in his short reign of 14 years Vikramāditya II had to spend a good bit of his time in crushing the Pallavas and their neighbours.

Extent of His Empire

The Chālukyan empire under Vikramāditya II was further extended with the inclusion of the Gurjara territory after the defeat of the Arab forces by a Chālukyan scion Avanījanāśraya Pulakeśirāja, the Lāṭa ruler.[287] There was, however, a decline in the political influence exercised by the Chālukyas in the North, probably consequent to the emergence of the Karkoṭas under Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and Yaśovarman of Kanauj. The Chālukyas continued to dominate the political horizon of South India without any interruption of their supremacy. Their overlordship was an acknowledged fact in the whole of the Trans-Narmadā region of India, except the territory held by their collaterals at Veṅgi. They, no doubt, did wield great influence in the South as recorded earlier, with successful incursions in the life-time of this monarch. Towards the east, the eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi continued as a political force independent of the Chālukyan house of Badami. The Rāshṭrakūṭas, exercising control over the regions of Mālavā and Madhya Pradesh, were functioning as the Chālukyan feudatories,[288] while the Kalachuris, with Tripurī as their base,[289] had also intimate political relations with them further cemented with matrimonial ties.[290] The other feudatories, namely, the Sendrakas, Gaṅgas, Bāṇas and Alūpas, were not disturbed.[291]

Vikramāditya II, thus, had an eventful career, beginning with his role in the Southern conquest and widening his area of political influence and sovereignty. Besides being a good warrior, he was equally a patron of art and encouraged temple-building activities in his time.[292] His two queens Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī constructed the Śaiva temples at Paṭṭaḍakal besides many more constructed at Aihole and other places.[293] The end of the reign of this ruler in A.D. 745 marks

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the decline of Chālukyan glory, though we do find an uneventful beginning in his successor's time.

NOTES

1. *Sūnuḥ* or *priyasūnoḥ*, *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 62; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 33; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f; *DKD*, p. 368.
2. It has been suggested that he became heir-apparent in A.D. 678, though there is no evidence to confirm it. *ARSIE*, 1936, p. 12; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 225; *HK*, p. 102; *CA*, p. 245; *DKD*, pp. 367-68.
3. पितुराज्ञया बालेन्दुशेखरस्य तारकारातिरिव दैत्यबलम तिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्य कांचीपतिबलमवष्टम्य, *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 317f; *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 87-88; *DKD*, p. 368; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 224-25; *CA*, p. 245; *HK*, p. 102.
4. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 60-61; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 2f.
5. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 63; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 94; Vol. XIX, p. 142f.
6. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 226; *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38.
7. *KTA*, p. 208; *HK*, p. 103.
8. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 112, Vol. VI, p. 88f and p. 94f; *JOR*, Vol. X, p. 27f; *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 24; *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *IA*, Vol. XL, p. 240f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 59.
9. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 300; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 231.
10. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 58-59.
11. *SII*, Vol. X, p. 10.
12. Ante, pp. 123-24 and 133.
13. *CPIAPGM*, Vol I, pp. 58-63.
14. Ibid., p. 60.
15. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 112.
16. *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 62-65.
17. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 85f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 231-33.
18. *EI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 289-92.
19. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8, 9, 31; *IAR*, 1958-59, p. 57.
20. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 89-90.
21. *JOR*, Vol. X, pp. 27-46.
22. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 94, Vol. XIX, p. 146f.
23. *EI*, Vol. XXII, pp. 24-29.
24. Ibid., p. 24f.
25. *KI*, Vol. II, pp. 6-11.
26. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 91-94.
27. *IA*, Vol. XL, p. 240f.
28. *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 53.
29. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 94 and Vol. XIX, pp. 142-46.
30. *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38.
31. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 225.
32. *IAR*, 1954-55, p. 28.
33. Ibid.
34. *JBISM*, Vol. III, pp. 6-16; *ARSIE*, 1939-42, p. 20, 1933-34, p. 4.
35. *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 216f.
36. "त्रैराज्यपल्लवपतिबलम", *IHQ*, Vol. IV, p. 425f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 62; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f.
37. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 98f.
38. Ante.
39. In case the phrase *trairājyapallava* or *trairājya Kāñchīpati* is to be taken as a *dvandva*—a dual compound, then it means three kingdoms and the Pallavas. On the other hand, if the first word of the *Samastapada* is taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, it would signify the triad of other three southern

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kingdoms It appears to be a *samāhāra dvandva* compound meaning thereby the Pallavas having the support of three kingdoms, i.e., the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pāṇḍyas.

40. *DKD*, p. 368; *PIHC*, 1951, p. 67.
41. *AHD*, pp. 40-41.
42. The Madras Christian College Magazine, 1929, pp. 7-18; *JOR*, Vol. X, p. 27f; *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 27f; *CPIAPGM*, pp. 7 and 49.
43. *PIHC*, 1951, p. 67; *CA*, p. 244, Note 1.
44. *CA*, p. 245, Note 3; *AHD*, p. 41; *HSI*, pp. 150-51.
45. *Kramāgatarājyatrayah* in Manor Plates, *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 17f; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 123f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f.
46. *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 27f.
47. *PIHC*, 1951, p. 68.
48. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 85; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 14f; *DKD*, p. 368; *CA*, p. 244; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224.
49. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224; *KTA*, p. 208; *HK*, p. 102; *CA*, p. 244.
50. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f; *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91f.
51. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f.
52. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
53. Ibid., pp. 6-11.
54. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11, v. 26; *DKD*, p. 350; *CA*, p. 238; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 215.
55. The identity of Kalabhras is one of the unresolved problems of South Indian history. On the authority of the Velvikudi, it is inferred that a Kali king named Kalabhram took possession of the Pāṇḍya country - and that the Kalabhras were terrible and ruthless conquerors. The Chālukya records do refer to them along with the South Indian kings but there is hardly any clue to determine their identity. They are equated with the line of Muṭṭaraiyar of Koḍumbalūr and also with the Karṇāṭas on the basis of Tamil texts. Some scholars identify them with Kallappalars belonging to Vellala country. *JIH*, Vol. VIII, pp. 74-80; *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 49. They are also identified with the Kalavar and the chieftains of this tribe mentioned in the Saṅgam literature are Tiraiyam of Pavattiri and Pulli of Veṅgaḍam or Tirupati. The latter is described as the cattle-lifting robber chief of the frontier. However, nothing could be finally stated on this issue till we get some positive evidence to identify them. *CA*, pp. 265-67.
56. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 22.
57. *CA*, p. 245; Fleet regarded it a mistake for Mālawa or Malaya country. *DKD*, p. 368, Note 3.
58. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 22.
59. A close analysis of the available source material indicates that with the defeat and death of Pulakeśin II, the Chālukyas lost their hold over the Southern territories including the capital for some time but their authority was intact in the northern portion of their empire in the absence of any evidence contrary to it.
60. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 22.
61. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91f.
62. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, v. 12.

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63. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168f; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 200f.
64. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 200f.
65. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
66. Ibid.
67. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 126.
68. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 11 and 29. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa also refers to this kingdom (*IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19) among the conquered kingdoms. A suggestion could be hazarded that Vinayāditya might have regained his hold over this territory.
69. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 213.
70. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f and p. 127f.
71. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 22.
72. "करदीकृत कमे[वे]र-पार-सीक-सिंहलादि द्वीपाधिपस्य", *VSMV*, 1966, p. 33; *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 311f.
73. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f; *NUJ*, Vol. VII, p. 143f; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 33.
74. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
75. *CA*, p. 245; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224; *HK*, p. 102.
76. *CA*, p. 245, Note 3; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 218.
77. *CA*, p. 245, Note 3.
78. *IDRE*, pp. 198-99.
79. *CA*, p. 245, Note 3.
80. *EHI*, p. 444.
81. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f.
82. *IDRE*, pp. 199-200.
83. *EHI*, p. 444.
84. Ibid., Note on p. 444.
85. *JKU*, Vol. I, p. 193f.
86. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 24.
87. *IDRE*, p. 200.
88. *HK*, p. 102; *CA*, p. 245.
89. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f. Varāhamihira refers to Kāverya. Rājaśekhara places Kāverī in Dakshiṇāpatha together with Kerala, Kāñchī, Murala and Siṁhala (*SKH*, p. VIII). This seems to suggest that Kavera lies somewhere in South India.
90. *IDRE*, pp. 197-98.
91. Saletore suggests that while conquering the *Sakalottarapathanatha*, Vinayāditya ventured to have trans-oceanic contacts with China through the Khmer island of Cambodia, as evinced from the testimony of Ma-twan-lin, who refers to an embassy in the Chinese Court from Chi-lu-khi-pa-lo, i.e., Chālukya Vallabha, the king of Southern India. Professor Chavannes assigned the date of the above-mentioned event to A.D. 692, which falls in the reign of Vinayāditya, thus coinciding with the date of the Kolhapur Grant dated in A.D. 693, which refers for the first time to the conquest of the Kamera country and might have been in sequence with the dispatch of an embassy to China.
92. "सकलोचरापथनाथ मथनोपार्जितोर्ज्जित पालिध्वजादि समस्त पारमैश्वर्य चिन्हस्य" *VSMV*, 1966, p. 33; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f; *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12f; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f.
93. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226.
94. *IA*, Vol. XL, p. 240f.
95. *VSMV*, 1966, pp. 19 and 35; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f.
96. *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 311f, Vol. XXXII, p. 317f, Vol. V, p. 200f.

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97. *CA*, pp. 124-26; *HKT*, pp. 188-92; *EHNT*, pp. 274-75.
98. "महीनर्म्मदान्तराल धवलफल शिलीमुख जालविजित विनिहत वज्जड समस्त सैन्यो", *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 8f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f.
99. Records belonging to Vijayāditya onwards narrate that Vinayāditya was anxious to conquer the North, उत्तरापथ विजगीषुर्गुरो, *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 317f, Vol. XXVII, p. 125, Vol. V, p. 200f, Vol. IX, p. 200f.
100. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226; *IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 181 and 353; *CA*, p. 149.
101. *EI*, Vol. XXXV, p. 313.
102. अग्रत एवाहव व्यापारमाचरन्न-रातिगज घटापाटन विशीर्यमाण कृपाण धारस्समग्र विग्रहाग्रें सर-स्सन्साहसरसिक पराङ्मुखीकृत शत्रुमंडलो गंगा यमुना पालिध्वज पडढक्कमहाशब्द चिन्हक माणि-क्यमतंगजादीन्पितृ सात्कुर्वन, *VSMV*, 1966, p. 34; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f.
103. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226; *CA*, pp. 245-46.
104. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 226.
105. *SKH*, Vol. I, p. 58.
106. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 112.
107. Dr. Majumdar proposed to identify this Vajraṭa with Śilāditya III of Vallabhī. *CA*, p. 149.
108. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 8f; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 127f.
109. *IA*, Vol. XL, p. 240f; *VSMV*, 1966, pp. 19 and 35; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f.
110. *CA*, p. 130.
111. *CA*, p. 130.
112. परैः पलाय मानैरासाद्य कथमपि विधिवशादपनीतोपि प्रतापादेव विषय प्रकोपम राजकमुत्सारयन वत्सराज इवानपेक्षिता पर सहा-यकस्तदहान्निर्गत्य, *VSMV*, 1966, p. 34; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f.
113. *CA*, pp. 129-30.
114. *HKT*, pp. 194-97; *CA*, p. 131.
115. *CWB*, Vol. II, pp. 429-33.
116. *HKT*, pp. 194-95, Note 1.
117. *CA*, pp. 245-46.
118. *PHAI*, pp. 610-11.
119. *PHAI*, p. 611.
120. *IDRI*, p. 200.
121. Ibid., pp. 200-01.
122. *PHAI*, p. 611.
123. "प्रतापादेव विषय प्रकोपम राज-कमुत्सारयन," *VSMV*, 1966, p. 34.
124. "परैः पलायमानैरासाद्य कथमपि विधिवशाद पनीतोपि", *VSMV*, 1966, p. 34.
125. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f.
126. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f; *VSMV*, 1966, pp. 35 and 17.
127. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 166, 168; *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f.
128. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 94f.
129. *Priyasūnuḥ* in Alampur Inscription, *EI*, Vol. XXXV, p. 121f; *Priyatanuja* or *Priyatanaya* in the records of his son and grandson, Vikramāditya II and Kīrttivarman II, respectively, *IA*, Vol. X, p. 60f; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 2f.
130. "दक्षिणाशा विजयिनि पितामहे समुन्मूलित निखिलकंटक संहति" occurring in Kasar-Sirasi,

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Nerur, Mayalūr, Raygad, Elāpura, Shiggaon and other records of the king. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224; *CA*, pp. 243-44; *KTA*, p. 207; *HK*, p. 102.

131. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 88f.
132. *VSMV*, 1966, p. 17f; *NUJ*, Vol. VII, p. 143f; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f, Vol. XXV, p. 21f.
133. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 104, 106-07 and 110-11.
134. *JSISJI*, pp. 374-75 (No. 47); *CA*, p. 246; *Bhatārala* in the Koṭṭur Inscription, *EI*, Vol. XXX, p. 69f.
135. स्वभुजावष्टम प्रसादिताशेष विश्वम्भरः प्रभुरखंडित शक्तित्रयत्वा च्छत्रुमद भंजक त्वादुदारत्वान्निरवद्यत्वादयस्य समस्त भुवनाश्रयः The phrase occurs in the official records of Vijayāditya from the first regnal year onwards and is repeated in the records of his son and grandson Vikramāditya II and Kīrttivarman II.
136. Shiggaon, Kasar-Sirasi and other plates of his time, *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 317f, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f, Vol. XXV, p. 21; *KTA*, p. 209.
137. *VSMV*, 1966, p. 198; *NUJ*, Vol. VII, p. 143f; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f.
138. *DKD* (*BG*, Vol. I), p. 370, No. 5; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 3; *KTA*, p. 209; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226; *HK*, p. 103; *CA*, p. 246.
139. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 285f; Vol. VII, pp 44, 163.
140. On the basis of the Harihara and Patoda Plates (dated on *Kārttika Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka year 617, 14th regnal year=9th October, A.D. 694 and *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka year 617, 14th regnal year=4th May, A.D. 695), it is evident that upto this date Vinayāditya did not march against the North Indian ruler, indicating that he invaded the North in the later part of A.D. 695 and probably died on a date in A.D. 696 or in the early part of A.D. 697. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91f, Vol. XL, p. 240f.
141. *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 21f.
142. *IA*, Vol. II, pp. 104, 106-07 and 110-11.
143. App. A, No. 5, 70 to 109.
144. *VSMV*, 1966, pp. 17-36; *NUJ*, Vol. VII, pp. 143-49; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 313-16.
145. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30.
146. *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 53, No. 2 (ii).
147. *IA*, Vol, X, pp. 60-61; *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 2-4.
148. *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 53, No. 2 (iii).
149. *EO*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 311-14.
150. *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 211; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 125-30.
151. *EI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 69-71.
152. *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 14-17.
153. *ARSIE*, 1934-35, p. 147, No. E6.
154. *IHQ*, Vol, IV, pp. 425-30.
155. *JKU*, Vol. I, pp. 193-227; *ARSIE*, 1934-35, pp. 7-57, No. A22; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 227; *HTA*, p. 208; *HK*, p. 103.
156. *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 130-33.
157. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317-24; *HK*, p. 103.
158. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 285f.
159. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 322-26.
160. *EI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 121-22.
161. *EI*, Vol. XXXV, p. 121f.
162. *JBISM*, Vol. IX (*QBISM*, year 9), Part II, pp. 1-16.
163. *ARSIE*, 1920-21, No. 359; *SII*, Vol. X, p. 9, No. 23.

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164. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 112, No. 39.
165. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 112 (lines 29-53).
166. *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90, No. F22.
167. *EI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 21-24.
168. *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 203f, No. 4; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 32-35.
169. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 102-04.
170. *ARSIE*, 1932-33, p. 96, No. 44.
171. *ARSIE*, 1926-27, No. 127; *SII*, Vol. XI (Bom. Kar. Ins. Vol. I), p. 2.
172. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 235.
173. Naik, No. 60; *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I (Bom. Kar. Ins. Vol. I, Part I), p. 2, No. 3.
174. *ARASI*, 1930-34, p. 244; *ARSIE*, 1930-34, p. 119, No. E16.
175. *JSISJI*, pp. 374-75, No. 47.
176. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 28, No. 48; *ARASI*, 1919, No. 691.
177. Ibid., Vol. IX, Part I, p. 28, No. 49.
178. Ibid., Vol. IX, Part I, p. 27, No. 47.
179. *IAR*, 1964-65, Part II, p. 1, Nos. 1 and 2.
180. *IAR*, 1963-64, Part II, p. 12, No. 57.
181. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 188-91.
182. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 165-66.
183. *SMHD*, Vol. II, pp. 23-31.
184. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 23f.
185. शैशव इवाधिगता शेषास्त्रशस्त्रो (शास्त्रो) Sometimes we find the variation of *Śastra* in the records meaning thereby proficient in arms and scriptures.
186. *EHD*. Vol. I, pp. 225-26.
187. पराङ्मुखी कृत शत्रुमंडलो गंगा यमुना पालिध्वज पडढक्का-महाशब्द माणिवय मतंगजादी-न्पितृसात्कृर्व्वन This phrase occurs in his official records as well as in the records of his son and grandson. App. A, Nos. 70 to 129; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 225-26; *CAP*, p. 246; *KTA*, p. 209; *HK*, pp. 102-03.
188. "परैः पलायमानैरासाद्य कथम-पिविधिवशादपनीतोपिप्रतापादेव विषय प्रकोपमराजकमुत्सारयन" Kasar-Sirasi, Nerur, Mayalūr plates of Vijayāditya, the Narwaṇ Plates of Vikramāditya II and the Vakkaleri and Kendur Plates of Kīrttivarman II, *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 125f, *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 311; Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 125f, Vol. IX, p. 200, Vol. V, p. 200f.
189. वत्सराज इवानपेक्षित परसहाय-करत दवग्रहान्निगंत्यं The phrase occurs in all the dynastic epigraphs from the time of Vijayāditya onwards (App. A, Nos. 70-129).
190. विषय प्रकोपमराजकमुत्सारयन, *VSMV*, 1966, p. 34 and *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 21f. As this incident occurred prior to the issue of the Kasar-Sirasi Plates of the first regnal year of the ruler, so the crown prince Vikramāditya II probably was not mature enough to look after the kingdom during the captivity of his father. Hence there was kinglessness in the empire. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226; *CA*, p. 246; *HK*, p. 103; *KTA*, p. 209.
191. Soon after his triumph over the *Sakalottarāpathanātha*, Vinayāditya died and the successor to the throne Vijayāditya was probably away at that crucial time from the Chālukyan metropolis.

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Meanwhile, it is recorded in the epigraphs of Vijayāditya and his successors that the fleeing enemies somehow took him prisoner, as ill-luck would have it, but the circumstances behind this incident are nowhere recorded. It is, however, mentioned that he managed to set himself free through his own prowess and intelligence without anyone's help, unlike king Vatsarāja who freed himself with the help of his minister and Vāsavadattā. Either Vinayāditya died while he was returning to the capital. Vijayāditya was away and Vinayāditya expired. This resulted in chaos in the empire. Soon after escaping from captivity Vijayāditya took over the reins of government. In the beginning it was not smooth sailing for him and he had to move in a diplomatic manner to tide over the changed political situation. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226; *KTA*, p. 209; *DKD*, p. 371; *EHDB*, p. 66; *HK*, p. 103; *CA*, p. 246.

192. The dynastic records do not provide any clue to ascertaining the identity of the ruler who had taken Vijayāditya prisoner. According to Sastri, he was the Pāṇḍya ruler but this seems untenable for two reasons, firstly, the time of the campaign in the South, and secondly, its leader who was undoubtedly Vijayāditya's son, the crown prince Vikramāditya II.
193. *ARSIE*, 1943-44, p. 90, No. 22F; *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 54.
194. Ibid., p. 90; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226; *CA*, p. 246.
195. Ibid.
196. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 164-65.
197. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226; *CA*, p. 246.
198. *CA*, p. 262; Gopalan believes that he ruled between A.D. 700-710; *HPK*, p. 111.
199. *HSI*, p. 154.
200. *VSMV*, 1966, p. 34; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f, Vol. X, p. 14f, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f, Vol. IX, p. 200f.
201. Ante, p. 153.
202. *ARASI*, 1930-34, p. 244; *ARSIE*, 1930-34, p. 119.
203. *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 359; *SII*, Vol. IX, p. 9.
204. Rajole Inscription as quoted by Sastri, *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 227, Note 3.
205. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 35.
206. *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 130f.
207. *SII*, Vol. IX, p. 28.
208. *ARSIE*, 1934-35, pp. 7 and 57, No. 22A; *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 317.
209. *IAR*, 1962-63, p. 54; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
210. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 146f, p. 154f.
211. *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32; *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 168-69.
212 सजयतु वामबाहु परिचुम्बित वृदन पयोधरो स्थलो (पयोधर-स्थलो) अतिकुल लेल लील अलकावलि विधृत कराग्रमहलो दशशत नयन किरण परिवर्द्धित रागरसाति वर्द्धितो विकसित मुंडरीक प्रतिमाहरगीरी संगमो-सजयतु ॥ *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f.
213. *EI*, Vol. XXXV, p. 121f.
214. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 60-61; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 2f.
215. *ARSIE*, 1930-34, p. 119.

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216. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 112.
217. *KTA*, p. 209; *Anēkānta*, February 1968, p. 250.
218. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 317f.
219. *ARSIE*, 1934-35, pp. 7 and 57.
220. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 166.
221. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 102-04.
222. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 104f; *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
223. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 322f.
224. Vikramāditya II was crown prince in A.D. 710, as is evident from the Satara Plates of Vijayāditya and he ascended the throne in A.D. 733-34, hence he had occasion to serve as heir-apparent for more than 23 years (*EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 322 and Vol. XVII, p. 125f).
225. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
226. *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 164; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226; *HK*, p. 103; *CA*, p. 246.
227. "हैहयवंशसंभूता प्रिया महादेवी उमाभागवत इव लोकामात्या-स्थापितो महाशैल प्रासाद श्री-लोकेश्वर भट्टारक स्तस्योत्तर दिगमागेश्री लोकमहादेव्याया सौदर्या कनीयसी भगिनी श्री विक्रमादेवस्य प्रिया राज्ञी स्वस्ति कीर्तिवर्म्म सत्याश्रय श्री पृथ्वी-वल्लभमहाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर भट्टारक श्री नृपसिंह राजस्य जननी श्री त्रैलोक्यमहादेव्या" *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168f (see also pp. 166, 167, 162-64, 164-65, 169); *EI*, Vol. II, p. 15f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 229; *KTA*, p. 209; *CA*, p. 247; *HK*, pp. 103-4.
228. *ARSIE*, 1926-27, No. 127; *SII*, Vol. XI, p. 2; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 235.
229. *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 15f, Vol. VIII, p. 11f; *EC*, Vol. XI, Dg. 1; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 317; *CA*, p. 247.
230. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 359f.
231. *CA*, p. 241; *KTA*, p. 206; *HK*, p. 100; *HPK*, p. 98.
232. *DKD* (*BG*, Vol. I, Part II), pp. 374-75; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 106f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
233. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 104f.
234. *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
235. *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 216f; *DKD*, p. 375; R.G. Bhandarkar, Desai and others believe Vikramāditya's accession in A.D. 733, while Sircar, Nandimatha and Sastri fix it in A.D. 733-34.
236. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 227; *CA*, p. 247; *KTA*, p. 209; *HK*, pp. 103-04; *EHDB*, p. 66; *HSI*, p. 153.
237. App. A, Nos. 109-127.
238. *EI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 12-17.
239. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 104-06, 110-11.
240. *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 125-31.
241. *MASR*, 1939, pp. 121-25.
242. *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 359-60.
243. *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 285-86; *ARSIE*, 1928-29, p. 43; *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I (Bom. Kar. Ins. Vol. I, Part I), p. 2.
244. *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 285-86.
245. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 166.
246. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 167.
247. Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 162-64.
248. Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 164-65.
249. Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 168-69.
250. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30, No. B16.
251. *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 79-81.
252. *ARSIE*, 1932-33, p. 93; *ARIE*,

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1949-50, pp. 7 and 25, No. B78; ibid., 1949-50, p. 28, No. 113; ibid., 1947-48, pp. 1 and 22, No. B194.

253. According to this inscription, Vikramāditya II returned from Kāñchi in A.D. 731 after defeating Pallava Parameśvaravarman (evidently, Parameśvaravarman II A.D. 722 to 730) probably with the help of the Gaṅga prince, Durvinīta Ereyappa, whom he rewarded with the territories of Pariyala and Ulachala. What necessitated the heir-apparent to take such action is nowhere recorded but it is clear that the Chālukyas stood aggressive and forced the Pallava ruler to pay tribute. However, it seems that after purchasing peace with the Chālukyas at a heavy price, the Pallava ruler wanted to settle matters with the Gaṅga Śrīpurusha, which proved suicidal. He was killed at Vilande by Gaṅga Śrīpurusha. This action was taken with the backing of the Chālukyas, resulting in the kinglessness in Pallava kingdom as Parameśvaravarman died issueless. *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90; *DKD* (*BG*, Vol. I), p. 374; *HSI*, p. 154; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 226; *CA*, p. 246; *HK*, p. 103; *HPK*, pp. 121-22.

254. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 137-45.

255. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 137f; *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 17; *DKD* (*BG*, Vol. I), pp. 375-76; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 227; *KTA*, p. 210; *CA*, pp. 155 and 248.

256. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 137-45.

257. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 137f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 228.

258. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 137f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 228.

259. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.

260. *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 125f.

261. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f.

262. It is also narrated in the record that festivities were observed in the kingdom and in celebration of it Lokamahādevī constructed a temple at Paṭṭaḍakal. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 164-65.

263. आत्मवशज पूर्वनृपतिच्छायापहारिणः प्रकृत्यमित्रस्य पल्लवस्य समूलोन्मूलाय कृतमतिरतित्वरया तुण्डाक विषयं प्राप्याभिमुखागत नन्दिपोति-वर्म्मामिधानं पल्लवं रणमुखे प्रंहृत्य प्रपालय्य, *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 125f, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f.

264. *IA*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.

265. कलशभवनिलय हरिदंगनांचित काञ्चीयमानां काञ्चीमांविनाश्य प्रविश्य सतत प्रवृत दानानन्दित द्विज दीनानाथ जनः नरसिंह पोत वर्म्म निर्म्मापित शिलामय राजसिंहेश्वरादि देवकुल सुवर्ण-राशि प्रत्तंर्प्पणोपार्जितोर्जित पुण्यः *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.

266. *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 359-60.

267. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 360; *DKD*, pp. 375-76; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 228.

268. निरवद्य श्रीमद अनिवारित पुण्यवल्लभेन लिखित इदम वल्ल-भदुर्ज्जयराजाधिकारदिम, *EI*, Vol. III, p. 360; *DKD*, pp. 375-76; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 228.

269. The graphic description in the

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Narwan, Kendur and Vakkalera Plates of the conquest of Kāñchī makes it clear that Vikramāditya II was not only the aggressor on this occasion but he also avenged the disgrace fallen on his predecessors by capturing the enemy metropolis. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. I, p. 200f.

270. *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 99; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 219.
271. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
272. *DKD*, p. 375; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 228.
273. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 104.
274. *NI*, pp. 429-30; *MASR*, 1941, p. 220, No. 45; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 229.
275. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 229.
276. *CA*, p. 244, note 2.
277. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 164f.
278. "अनिवारित प्रताप प्रसूर प्रतापितपाण्य चोल केरल कक्कभ प्रभृति राजन्यकः", *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
279. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 200f, Vol. IX, p. 200f.
280. *DKD*, p. 375; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 228; *CA*, p. 247; *HK*, p. 101.
281. It is narrated in the aforesaid records that to commemorate his victory and celebrate his great fame which had spread to the Southern ocean, he (Vikramāditya II) erected a pillar of victory to mark the occasion. It is nowhere recorded where this column of supreme sovereignty was set up. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
282. "स्वकुलवैरिण काञ्चीपतेनिग्रिहाय मामप्रेषय इत्यादेशम प्रार्थ्यलब्ध्वा", *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
283. The Kendur and Vakkaleri Plates narrate that the Pallava ruler, unable to face the Chālukyan invader (Kīrtivarman II, the heir-apparent) in the open, took refuge behind the walls of his fort, where he was pressed until he lost his strength. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f; *DKD*, p. 377; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 229; *CA*, p. 248.
284. *HPK*, pp. 121-22; *CA*, p. 262; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 228.
285. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f; *DKD*, p. 377; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 228.
286. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 164-65.
287. *DKD*, p. 375; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 227-28; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 135f.
288. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 231.
289. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 164f; *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168.
290. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 229; *CA*, p. 247.
291. *EI*, Vol. XXX, p. 12f; *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9; *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 230.
292. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 162-69, Vol. VII, p. 104f; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 359f.
293. *EI*, Vol. II, p. 359; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 164f.

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VII

The Decline of Chālukyan Power

Kīrttivarman II

VIKRAMĀDITYA II was succeeded by his favourite son (*priya-sūnuḥ*) Kīrttivarman II.[1] He was the son of Queen Trailokya Mahādevī since the latter is described as the mother of the lion among the kings, i.e., Kīrttivarman II in the Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription.[2] Queen Trailokya Mahādevī was the uterine sister of Lokamahādevī—the chief queen of Vikramāditya II and belonged to the *Haihaya* lineage.[3] Her son Kīrttivarman was proclaimed *yuvarāja* during the life-time of his father, and he was associated with the administration of the kingdom in the above capacity.[4] He led an important expedition against the Pallavas before he ascended the throne.

The dynastic records bestow on him the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Rājādhirāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, besides the dynastic epithets of *Śrīprithivīvallabha, Vallabha* or *Śrīvallabha* and *Satyāśraya*.[5] He is also described as a paramount sovereign.[6] A few Kannada records of his time call him *Bhaṭarār*, a Kannada corruption of Sanskrit term *Bhaṭṭāraka*.[7] A few more titles are also accorded to this ruler, as, for instance, the Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription confers on him the *viruda Nṛpasiṁha*, i.e., 'the lion among kings'.[8] The Peḍḍāpeṭa epigraph attributes the title of *Anivārita* to this Chālukyan monarch.[9] The Kannada word '*arasa*' meaning 'king' is also added to his name.[10] The

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Chadan Stone Inscription mentions him as *Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Kīrtivarma-Bhaṭāra*, in a pure South Indian style of giving the name of the individual with the name of his father,[11] indicating that Kīrttivarman II was the son of Vikramāditya II.

The Date of Accession

According to Fleet, Kīrttivarman II ascended the throne in A.D. 746 or 747. Evidently, his suggestion is based on the Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrttivarman II, dated on the full moon *tithi* of *Bhādrapada*, Śaka year 679, falling in the king's eleventh regnal year.[13] Since this date is given in the expired Śaka year, so it would correspond to Friday, 2nd September, A.D. 757. Counting backwards from this date, the first regnal year of the king would fall in A.D. 746-47. However, with the publication of the Kendur Plates, the above-mentioned view needs reconsideration. These plates are dated on the full moon day of *Vaiśākha*, solar eclipse, Śaka year 672 (expired) falling in the 6th regnal year of the king.[14] According to the Indian Ephemery, the English calendar equivalent of it would be Sunday, 26th April, A.D. 750.[15] Now, counting backwards from this date, the first regnal year of Kīrttivarman II would fall in A.D. 644-45.[16] Thus, we find a difference of two years between these two dates of the same king. As already stated, we find a difference of two to three years between the dates given in Śaka era and regnal years.[17] The last known date of Vikramāditya II is 21st December, A.D. 742 from the Narwan Plates,[18] thus making it evident that Kīrttivarman II became ruler after this date, which might be any time upto A.D. 745. Nandimatha, however, believes that this Chālukyan monarch ascended the throne in A.D. 746.[19] It, however, appears more plausible to believe that Kīrttivarman II was crowned as the Chālukyan monarch in A.D. 745.

Inscriptions

There are in all nine records of his time. The first record is the Ainuli Plates referring to the fourth regnal year of the king. This fragmentary epigraph records the presence of the king in a victorious camp on the banks of the river Bhīmā.[20]

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The first record in chronological order is the Kendur Plates dated in the Śaka year 672 falling in Kīrttivarman's sixth regnal year. It registers the gift of the village Bepaṭṭi in Veḷvoḷa *Vishaya* in favour of Rāmaśarman at the request of the chief queen.[21] At the time of issuing these plates, Kīrttivarman II was stationed at Raktapura.[22] This record helps us in determining his date of accession.[23] The next one, also referring to the 6th regnal year, was discovered at Aṇṇigere. Its object is to record the construction of a *Cheḍiya* (*Chaitya*) by Kaliyamma, who was the headman of Jebulageri in the time of Kīrttivarman II.[24]

A set of copper plates were discovered at Vakkaleri in the Kolar district of Karnataka issued by Kīrttivarman II from his victorious camp at Bhaṇḍāragāvittgē village on the north bank of the river Bhīmarathī, on the full moon day of *Bhādrapada* of the Śaka year 679 corresponding to the 11th regnal year of the monarch.[25] These plates record the gift of the village Suḷḷiyūr together with Nengiyūr and Nandivallī, situated in Pānuṅgal *Vishaya* in favour of Mādhavaśarman at the request of Dosirāja.[26] The next record is the Paṭṭaḍakal Pillar Inscription which refers to the building of temples by Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī in honour of Śiva—named after them as 'Lokeśvara' and 'Trailokyeśvara', respectively.[27] This record points to the Śaivite leanings of the later Chālukya kings of Badami.

The last four inscriptions are undated, discovered at Peḍḍapeṭa, Chāṇḍan village in Anantpur and Koṟṟapāḍu and Āḍūr, respectively, situated in Cuddapah and Dharwar districts. The Āḍūr record is a Jain epigraph, recording the grant of 25 *nivartanas* of land for the promotion of *Jinālaya* and an alms-house constructed by Dharmagāmuṇḍa.[28] The tablet bearing the record was set up by Śrīpāla, the grandson of *Dharmagāmuṇḍa* and disciple of Prabhā(chandra), a Jain monk of repute.[29] The second part of this record refers to this Chālukyan monarch and his feudatory Mādhavatti-arasa, with whose permission the *Gāmundas* and *Karaṇas* donated land to Prabhāchandra Gurava belonging to *Cheḍiya* of Paralūra.[30] The Koṟṟapāḍu ceiling Slab Inscription registers a gift of four *maṟuṭṭu* of land at Malavuru by *Per-Bāṇadhirāju* to *Āditya-Bhaṭāra*.[31] The Bāṇa chief was a subordinate of Kīrttivarman II. The Chāṇḍana

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Stone Inscription records a gift of land to *Kanavaḍī* (*Gaṇapati*) by *Dharaṇappan*, son of Irigaṅga of Tagadur, while he was ruling over Cheñjona with his subordinate Bāṇarāja governing the Suramara *Vishaya*, during the reign of Kīrttivarman II.[32] The Peḍḍāpeṭa Stone Inscription registers a gift of 25 *maṛuṭṭu* of land at Kuḍaluru to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Duggiya of Vegi by Raṇavijaya.[33] Another undated Kannada record engraved on a broken pillar from Niluru in Anantpur district refers to the reign of the monarch, who remitted certain taxes due from some gāmuṇḍas.[34] A Slab Inscription from Kurukuṇḍi refers to him and registers a land gift.[35] Thus all these records not only refer to the Bāṇas as feudatories of the Chālukyas, but also provide us information about the existence of religious sects of *Gaṇapati*, *Āditya*, and *Jina*.

Important Events of his Reign

Kīrttivarman II, as an heir-apparent, had occasion to distinguish himself as a warrior when he prevailed upon his father to let him conduct a military expedition against the Pallavas, with a view to exterminating them.[36] He was successful in conquering the Pallava ruler Nandivarman II both in open fight and in his fort.[37] The expedition was equally successful in his collecting a vast amount of booty and war elephants which he no doubt presented to his father Vikramāditya II.[38] This added to his qualification as a military *general* in his capacity as crown prince. His military talents are also recorded in inscriptions and he is said to have attained proficiency both in arms and learning since his childhood.[39] This Chālukyan monarch had a number of feudatories at his command whose services could be utilised for military ventures.[40] The Kendur and Vakkaleri Plates contain evidence of this ruler's military achievements, but other sources, however, specify some specific events of his reign, which may now be enumerated.

Clash with the Pāṇḍya King

The Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Rājasiṁha had probably formed an alliance with Vikramāditya II, when the latter invaded the territory of the Pallavas, espousing the cause of Chitra-

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māya as the claimant to the royal throne after the death of Parameśvaravarman in A.D. 730.[41] During his time, the Pāṇḍya kingdom included some parts of the Koṅgu country impinging on the territory of the Gaṅgas, who were feudatories of the Chālukyas. Hostilities thus developed between the Gaṅga ruler Śrīpurusha and the Pāṇḍyan king Rājasiṁha I, who wanted further to extend his dominion beyond the Koṅgu country. As such, a clash occurred between the Gaṅgas and the Chālukya king Kīrttivarman II, and the Pāṇḍya ruler, who actually crossed the river Kaveri and captured the territory of Maḷakoṅgam situated between Tiruchirapalli and Tanjore districts.[42] The Chālukyan king with his feudatory was defeated at the battle of Venbai and peace was concluded as a result of which a Gaṅga princess was given in marriage to the Pāṇḍya ruler Rājasiṁha's son.[43] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is inclined to place this event in A.D. 750,[44] but it would be more proper to fix its date as A.D. 748 or so because according to the Ainuli Plates, the Chālukyan king was in his camp near the river Bhīmā in his 4th regnal year.[45] The Kendur Plates were issued by him in the 6th regnal year from Raktapura,[46] which also suggests his presence in the Northern portion of his kingdom at that time. As such, the clash between Kīrttivarman II and his Gaṅga ally against the Pāṇḍyas seems to have taken place earlier than the two dates, i.e., before A.D. 749. The victory of the Pāṇḍyas against the joint forces did not in any way affect Kīrttivarman II's position or loss of any territory.

The Rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas

The rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas is generally supposed to begin with Dantidurga, who was the founder of the imperial dynasty. There are, however, references to several Rāshṭrakūṭa families before his time.[47] Thus, we find Govindarāja, son of Svāmirāja, ruling in the Satara-Ratnagiri region as the feudatory of Vikramāditya II, recorded in the Narwaṇ Plates.[48] Another Rāshṭrakūṭa family was that of Nannaraja which was ruling in the Vidarbha region in A.D. 640, probably as the feudatory of Pulakeśin II, with headquarters at Ellichpur in Amaravati district in Maharashtra State.[49] It seems that during the Pallava-Chālukya hostilities in the reign of Vikramāditya II,

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these families became powerful because of the preoccupation of the Chālukyan monarch in the South. While the two families were owing allegiance to the Chālukyas, they were not slow to avail themselves of any opportunity to attain independence.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa family which gave a blow to the Chālukyan fortunes was that of Berar, and its vassal ruler Indra was said to have been ambitious who ruled from A.D. 715 to 735.[50] Evidently, he was the feudatory of the Chālukya Vijayāditya. Indra I,t he father of Dantidurga, was so bold as to marry a Chālukyan princess by the *Rākshasa* form by abducting her from the *Svayamvara* at Kaira, perhaps after defeating her father.[51] According to Altekar, she was the daughter of either Maṅgalarasa Vinayāditya or his younger brother *Avanijanāśraya* Pulakeśirāja of Lāṭa.[52] This probably led to temporary estrangement between the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Two things, however, do not fit into the above episode; firstly, the Chālukyan overlord at Badami would have not slept over the matter. He would certainly have interfered since the respect of a scion of the family was involved. Secondly, the venue of the *Svayamvara* should have been the capital of this Chālukyan ruler, somewhere in Lāṭa, and not at Kaira, in the territory of the Maitrakas of Vallabhi.[53] It may thus be surmised that either there is no truth in the story of this form of marriage between a Rāshṭrakūṭa chieftain and a Chālukyan princess, or the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Chālukyas must have come to terms after some clash which was cemented with this matrimonial tie. At any rate, it points to the rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas as a political force in the first quarter of the eighth century A.D.

Whatever might have been the facts, it is no doubt certain that Indra I had married a Chālukyan princess named Bhavanāgā or Bhavagaṇā and he ruled upto A.D. 735.[54] He was succeeded by his son, from the Chālukyan princess, named Dantidurga, who founded the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Malakhed.[55] Dantidurga was not only a distinguished warrior but also an accomplished diplomat. Being the blood relative of the Chālukyas, he was in their good books, and probably accompanied Vikramāditya II on his campaign against the Pallavas and other rulers. As an insider, he could ferret out the secrets of the Chālukyan army which were helpful

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to him in later times against the Chālukyas themselves. It appears that Dantidurga could not realise his ambitious designs against the Chālukyas in the life-time of the strong Chālukyan ruler, Vikramāditya II. He was content as a feudatory with the title of *Prithivīvallabha* accorded to him in the Ellora Plates.[56] It was only during the time of Kīrttivarman II, who was engaged in the Southern campaigns for a long time,[57] that Dantidurga availed himself of the opportunity to throw off the mask of the Chālukyan overlordship. The occasion was, therefore, ripe when the Chālukyan monarch in his clash with the Pāṇḍyas had a severe jolt as a result of his defeat.[58] By that time, Dantidurga had mustered enough strength with his successful campaigns in Central India in the region watered by the Māhī, the Narmadā, and the Mahānadī.[59] The strength of the Chālukyas of Lāṭa was dissipated, consequent to the Arab inroads.[60] As such, Dantidurga had no difficulty in humbling the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and he also conquered and annexed the Gurjara territory which at that time formed a part of the kingdom of Lāṭa.[61]

The Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Imperial Chālukyas of Badami were thus the only two powerful forces left in the Deccan to measure their strength against each other. Kīrttivarman II after suffering a rebuff in the Southern campaign against the Pāṇḍyas[62] had to consolidate his forces, before taking up the cudgels against the Rāshṭrakūṭas. In the mean time Dantidurga had conquered Lāṭa, Sindha, Mālavā and Southern Kośala,[63] and proved a much stronger force to be reckoned with. The Chālukyan ruler of Badami had, therefore, to mark time strengthening his forces and reestablishing his lost image before he could take the initiative against his adversaries both to the North and to the South of his empire.

Defeat of Kīrttivarman II

The clash between the Chālukyan monarch Kīrttivarman II and the Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory Dantidurga could not be postponed for long. Dantidurga, after consolidating his hold over the neighbouring kingdoms comprising the present Maharashtra and some parts of Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat,[64] was only waiting for a suitable opportunity to throw off not only the

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Chālukyan overlordship but even eliminating the Chālukyas altogether. Another reason which might have been the cause of the friction between Kīrttivarman II and Dantidurga was the latter's aggressive policy towards the Chālukyan scion of Lāṭa, whose country was conquered and annexed by him.[65] The Chālukyan overlord was interested in reinstating his scion in his lost kingdom.[66] Kīrttivarman II, could not pocket the insult offered by his feudatory after the fall of the Lāṭa kingdom of his collateral. He was interested in consolidating his hold over the north and equally reinstating his relation at Lāṭa. By the time Dantidurga had consolidated his hold after conquering the neighbouring kingdoms and clashed with the overlord, as is evident from the Samangarh Plates.[67]

It seems that some time after his 4th or 6th regnal year in A.D. 650-51,[68] Kīrttivarman II tried to contain Dantidurga and his activities. A battle was fought in which Kīrttivarman II lost heavily. The northern portion of Maharashtra and his territories in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh were lost to the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[69] His defeat is recorded in verses of the Samangarh Plates of Dantidurga from the Kolhapur region dated A.D. 753.[70] The Chālukyan records of his time are, however, silent on this point, but we do have information from the Samangarh and Ellora Plates about the clash between the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the extinction of the former.[71] As recorded in these verses of the Samangarh Plates, the mighty Karṇāṭaka army, which had earlier vanquished the king of Kāñchī, the Kerala, Pāṇḍya and Chola rulers of the South, Śrī Harsha of Kanauj and Vajrata, was easily routed by the forces of Dantidurga.[72] The second verse, however, refers to the Chālukyan lord (Vallabha) easily succumbing without offering resistance.[73] The later Chālukya records also notice the decline of the Chālukyas during the time of this ruler.[74] Thus, Kīrttivarman II had to face defeat both in the North and in the South, which proved disastrous to the existence of the line of the Chālukyas of Badami. It is, however, evident from the Rāshṭrakūṭa records that Dantidurga had made adequate preparations for a showdown with the Chālukyan monarch and the latter could not muster enough courage and strength to face his adversary.[75]

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The End

Despite the two defeats, the Chālukyan ruler continued to hold his capital Badami and the Karnataka area of his empire. It is evident from the Vakkaleri Plates that Kīrttivarman II did reign till A.D. 757.[76] The grant records the gift of a village in the Hangal area of Dharwar to *Brāhmaṇas* from his camp at Bhandāragavaṭṭige on the banks of the Bhīmā.[77] It seems that the Chālukyan king did not lose heart, and as soon as Dantidurga died in A.D. 756,[78] he tried to retrieve the fallen fortune of his family.[79] He had, however, to face an equally strong Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler named Krishna I, the uncle and successor of Dantidurga.[80] This Rāshṭrakūṭa king dealt a strong blow to the Chālukyan monarch by overthrowing and murdering him. This is evident from the Rāshṭrakūṭa as well as Chālukya inscriptions. The Rāshṭrakūṭa records narrate that Krishna I forcibly "carried away the fortune of the Chālukya family, wearing the garlands of waving *pālidhvajas*".[81] He is also said to have transformed the great *Varāha* (Chālukyan crest) into a she-deer.[82] Moreover, a few Rāshṭrakūṭa records describe that Krishna I achieved supreme sovereignty resplendent with numerous *pālidhvajas* by defeating *Rāhapa*.[83] The reference to supreme sovereignty and *pālidhvajas* probably indicated his identity with Kīrttivarman II.[84] In addition to the above facts, the later Chālukya records of Kalyāṇī also affirm that the *Rājyaśrī* of the Chālukyas disappeared from the earth during the reign of Kīrttivarman II,[85] thus confirming the claim of the Rāshṭrakūṭas as recorded in their inscriptions.

Kīrttivarman II after ruling for about eleven years, i.e., upto A.D. 757, probably lost his life and empire in his clash with the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[86] Probably he did not leave any successor. His death thus marks the end of the rule of the Early Chālukyas, who dominated the political scene of India in general and the South in particular for more than a century. His feudatories, namely, the Sendrakas, Bāṇas, Alūpas, and the Gaṅgas, however, remained loyal to him till his death.[87] Kīrttivarman II was not only a distinguished warrior, but also a patron of letters and he was equally interested in monumental activities. The inscriptions from Āḍūr and Aṇṇigere mention the erection of and endowment to the Jain temples at the above places.[88]

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Causes of Downfall

As regards the factors responsible for the downfall of the Chālukyas of Badami, it would be interesting to note that these were several. A bird's-eye view of their history reveals a few immediate causes of their ouster from the political scene of India. Certain policy-decisions were equally responsible for it. Their involvement in the far South with a view to exterminating the Pallavas was also responsible for their debacle at the hands of their own feudatory, i.e., the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga. These causes could be enumerated as follows: an extensive empire, weak successors, Southern incursions, the Arab invasion, the establishment of collateral branches, the rise of new political powers in the North and the South, and the rebellion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga.

Extensive Empire

Right from the time of Pulakeśin II down to the end of the dynasty, except for a period of 12 years[89] after the death of the above-mentioned monarch, the Chālukyas ruled over an extensive empire stretching up to the river Narmadā, Māhī and Kim in the North and upto the border of Pallava territory in the South. This extensive empire appeared to be unmanageable from the centre alone. It had to be parcelled out into manageable units. In those days of difficult communications, it was physically impossible to control the far-flung portions of their empire from the metropolis or by setting any *Skandhāvāra* or administrative camp at key points in the vast dominions. As such we find that the Chālukyan monarchs were sometimes helpless spectators to the sad drama of their decay and decline of their power and influence with the break-up of their far-flung dominion.

The Weak Successors

The next factor adding to the list of causes of loss of the Chālukyan power was the weakness of Kīrttivarman II, the last Chālukyan monarch. He lacked foresight, and unnecessarily entangled himself with the Pāṇḍyas, which provided an oppor-

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tunity to Dantidurga to create trouble in the North.[90] If he had acted promptly after the ouster of his scion of the Lāṭa dynasty,[91] probably he would have saved himself from the catastrophe that followed as a result of his lethargy, lack of foresight, and weak policy. He dissipated his energy in the Southern campaign which proved abortive.[92] He failed equally in the North and, having been unsuccessful in the South, he could not face the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Thus, he was to a great extent, responsible for the collapse of Chālukyan power.

Southern Incursions

The Southern campaigns have always proved unproductive for any ruler. Even in earlier times, we hardly find instances of permanent domination of this region by a Northern power. There were only temporary eclipses of its independence. As such the Chālukyas should have assessed their strength properly before pushing their arms in that direction in the light of these historical factors. The Chālukyas from Pulakeśin onwards had perpetual clashes with the Pallavas and the *trairājya*. The Chālukyan monarch Pulakeśin II, too, despite his success in other directions, lost his life and crown as a result of his bold enterprise in the extreme South.[93] His own capital Badami was plundered in retaliation by the combined forces of the Southern powers. Vikramāditya II, despite his success in capturing Kāñchī,[94] could not subjugate the Pallavas completely. Kīrttivarman II had to pay a heavy price for repeating the experiment of his predecessors in this direction. The expeditions proved costly not only in terms of money and resources but these also encouraged the feudatories in the North to strive for their independence.

The Arab Invasion

Another factor responsible for the decadence of Chālukyan power was the Arab invasion. It took place at a time when the Chālukyan overlord was busy in the South against the traditional foes, the Pallavas. The Arabs, who according to the Navsari Plates, had conquered the Chāpas, Mauryas, Karchchhelas, and Gurjaras, finally intruded into the Chālukyan king-

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dom and reached Navsari, the provincial headquarters.[95] The local scion faced them bravely and compelled them to retreat from the Indian territory adjoining the kingdoms of Lāṭa and Gurjara.[96] While there was no repetition of aggression by the *Tājika* forces in the time of the Chālukyas, the latter had become very weak and could not effectively control and contain the Rāshṭrakūṭas on the North-West side. The Arab invasion, as such, indirectly contributed to the weakening of the Chālukyan authority.

The Establishment of Collateral Branches

A close analysis of Chālukyan history from A.D. 543 to 757 shows that one of the major reasons for the decline of the Chālukyas were the emergence of collateral lines and the civil war in the kingdom.[97] We know that Maṅgalesa's refusal to part with power in favour of Pulakeśin II, the rightful claimant, resulted in a civil war between the two.[98] Even after Pulakeśin's victory and his accession to power, the domestic forces had to be contained and the ruler's own brother was appeased by the grant of some territory, leading to the setting up of a new dynasty at Veṅgi.[99] Vishṇuvardhana and his successors did not fall in line with the main Chālukyan branch, and did not offer any help to the parent body at the critical time of Southern incursions led by the Pallava Narasiṁhavarman. The other family of Lāṭa, which was at first very cooperative with the main line, participating in the campaigns against *Vajrata*, *Sakalottarāpathanātha* and the *Tājika* army, seems to have lost interest in the Badami family against the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Chālukyan offshoots became introvert, ever ready to protect their interests rather than join hands with the main line. Thus, the dissipation of the Chālukyan family into several branches proved baneful not only for the main line of Badami but also for others. It only helped the Rāshṭrakūṭas, at one time feudatories to Badami, to have an upper hand; and they finally succeeded. The setting up of collateral branches was thus not a wise step, since this led to many troubles in the end. If Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, the founder of the feudatory Chālukya house of Vemulavāḍā,[100] is the Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, a Chālukya scion ruling in the Thana and Lāṭa

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area, as is evident from the Manor, Dive-Āgar, Bulsara and Kollipārā Plates,[101] we have to conclude that this policy of appeasement adopted by the Imperial Chālukyas of Badami to accommodate their kith and kin eventually proved dangerous, and contributed a good deal to the decline of the Chālukyas.

The Rise of Political Forces in the North and the South

Several princely families emerged from obscurity at the beginning of the eighth century A.D. It was the age of strong rulers like Lalitāditya of Kashmir and Yaśovarman of an unknown lineage in Northern India.[102] The Rāshṭrakūṭas had mustered enough strength and were marking time to improve their lot and aspire for suzerainty. The Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Kalachuris, besides the Paramāras and other Rajput families, were waiting for their turn for political recognition. Equally so, in the South there was a general feeling of opposition against the Chālukyas due to their several devastating expeditions in that direction. The Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas together with the Cheras had mustered strength against the Chālukyas. These political forces emerging in the North and the South had tilted the balance of power. During their rule of about 200 years, the Chālukyas had to face new situations. The old enemy forces sometimes joined against them as, for instance, in the South, the Chālukyas had to fight in several directions, jointly and severally. Alignments also were not permanent. The Southern powers proved too strong for the Chālukyas to establish a permanent base in this territory. Even the Pāṇḍyas defeated the Gaṅgas and the Chālukyas too,[104] thus establishing their superiority. The supremacy of the Chālukyas was finally lost in the time of Kīrttivarman II.[105]

The Rebellion of Dantidurga—The Final Blow

As pointed out earlier, the final blow to Chālukyan power was dealt by Dantidurga, the Rāshṭrakūṭa, at one time the feudatory of the Chālukyas, and also related to them through the Lāṭa house.[106] While in the time of Vikramāditya II he had actively participated in the Southern campaign against the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas,[107] later on in the time of Kīrtti-

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varman II he became their worst enemy, ever anxious to overthrow them. It is quite likely that the Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory now made his plans, in a treacherous manner without inviting suspicions of his Chālukyan overlord, and when the latter sensed it, it was too late to retrieve the fast deteriorating situation, which ended the Chālukyan dynasty.

Thus it may safely be suggested that the end of this line of the Badami Chālukyas came due to several factors as enumerated above, each in its way contributing to it. It is, of course, certain that the emergence of the Rāshṭrakūṭas as a political force was the immediate cause of their decline.

NOTES

1. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f.
2. *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f.
3. "हैहयवंश संभूता प्रिया महादेवी उमा भगवत इव लोकामात्यास्थापितो महाशैल प्रासाद श्रीलोकेश्वर भट्टारकस्तस्योत्तर दिगभागे श्रीलोकमहादेव्याया: सोद्दर्या कतींयसी भगिनी श्रीविक्रमादित्य देवस्य प्रिया राज्ञी स्वस्ति कीर्तिवर्म्म सत्याश्रय श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभ महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर भट्टारक श्रीनृपतिसिंह राजस्यजननी श्रीत्रैलोक्यमहादेव्या", *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f.
4. सुशिक्षित शास्त्रशस्त्र: स्वगुणकलापानन्दित हृदयेन पित्रा समारोपित यौवराज्य:, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
5. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f, No. 3, Pt. II.
6. क्रमेण प्राप्त सार्व्वभौमपद:, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
7. *EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 204f.
8. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 1f; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168f; *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32.
9. *ARIE*, 1958-59, p. 8f.
10. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f, No. 3, Pt. II; *DKD*, p. 376.
11. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9, No. 17B.
12. *DKD*, p. 376.
13. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f; *EI*, Vol. V, p. 200f.
14. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f.
15. Vol. I, p. 222.
16. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 202, Vol. XXI, p. 204f; *CA*, p. 248; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 230; *HK*, p. 105.
17. Ante, p. 55.
18. *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
19. *KTA*, p. 210.
20. *MASR*, 1909, p. 12a; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 230.
21. *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 200-206.
22. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 200f.
23. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 202, Vol. XXI, p. 204f.
24. Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 204-06.
25. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f; *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 200-05.
26. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f; *EI*, Vol. V, p. 200f.

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27. *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32f; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168f; *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 1-8.
28. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 68-71; *KI*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 4-8.
29. Fleet had assigned this record to Kīrttivarman I but it would be historically more appropriate to refer it to Kīrttivarman II. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 68f.
30. *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 4-8, No. 3 (Pt. II).
31. *ARSIE*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, pp. 122, 232, No. 418B.
32. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30, No. 17B.
33. Ibid., 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30, No. 23B.
34. *SII*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 28-29, No. 50.
35. Ibid., Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 29, No. 51.
36. स्वकुलवैरिणः कांचीपतेर्निग्रहाय माम प्रेषय इत्यादेशम् प्रार्थ्य लब्ध्वा, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
37. तदनन्तरमेव कृत प्रयाणस्सन्नभिमुखमागत्य प्रकाशयुद्धं कर्त्तुमसमर्थन प्रविष्ट दुर्ग्ग पल्लवमसन्ततोमिभूय-भग्न-शक्तिं कृत्वा, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. X, p. 200f.
38. "मृतमत मतंगुज सुवर्णमाणिक्य कोटीरायपित्रै समर्प्पितवान", *EI*, Vol, IX p. 200f; Vol. V, p. 200f.
39. "बाल्ये सुशिक्षित शास्त्रशस्त्रः", *EI*, Vol. V, p. 200f, Vol. IX, p. 200f.
40. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 230; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f; *ARSIE*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 122; *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9.
41. *HSI*, p. 155.
42. *HSI*, p. 156.
43. Ibid., p. 156; *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, p. 41.
44. Ibid., p. 156; *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, p. 41.
45. *MASR*, 1909, p. 12f.
46. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f.
47. *CA*, pp. 198-202; *EHDB*, pp. 55-56, *SEDSI*, p. 182; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 249; *HK*, p. 111.
48. *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
49. Sangaluda, Tivarakhed and Multai Plates. *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 233; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 250.
50. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 250-51.
51. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 251-52; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 124, Vol. XVIII, p. 243.
52. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 252.
53. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 251-52.
54. Desai and others hold him to be the son of Indra II on the basis of Ellora Inscription. *HK*, p. 114; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 252.
55. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 253; *KTA*, p. 233; *HK*, p. 114.
56. *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 187; *KTA*, p. 234; *DKD*, p. 389.
57. *HSI*, pp. 155-56.
58. Ibid., p. 156.
59. *DKD*, p. 389; *KTA*, p. 234; *HSI*, p. 156; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 255.
60. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 255.
61. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f; *HK*, p. 114; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 255.
62. *HSI*, p. 156; *CA*, p. 268.
63. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 254; *HK*, p. 114.
64. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 255-56.
65. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 255, Note 1. Fleet was of opinion that the Lāṭa country was taken not by Dantidurga, but by some member of a separate independent branch of his family, of which

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the representative in A.D. 757 was Karkkarāja II. *DKD*, p. 389.

66. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 256.
67. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 1084; *SKH*, Vol. I, p. 58; Altekar doubts its genuineness; *Rashtrakutas*, p. 33, Note 11.
68. This is evident from the joint testimony of the Kendur Plates and the Ainuli Fragment. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f; *MASR*, 1909, p. 12.
69. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 231; *DKD*, p. 389; *HSI*, p. 156; *HK*, p. 115.
70. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 108f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. II, p. 375.
71. Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 108f; *AIU*, p. 1f.
72. *SKH*, Vol. I, p. 58.
73. Ibid.
74. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 12.
75. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 256.
76. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f; *EI*, Vol. V, p. 200f.
77. *EI*, Vol. V, p. 200f.
78. *HSI*, p. 158; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 256. Desai believes that Dantidurga expired before A.D. 758 (*KTA*, p. 234), but accepts the above date in *HK*, p. 115.
79. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 258-59.
80. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 258; *KTA*, p. 234; *HK*, p. 115.
81. *CA*, p. 249; *EHD*, Vol. I, p .249; *KTA*, p. 210; *HK*, p. 105.
82. "महावराहम् हरिणीम चकार", *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 38 and Vol. XII, p. 162; *DKD*, p. 391; *CA*, p. 249.
83. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 6ff; *DKD*, pp. 391-92; *CA*, p. 349; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 258.
84. *DKD*, p. 391; *CA*, p. 249.
85. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 12, Vol. XII, p. 187, Vol. XIII, p. 67; *HSI*, p. 156.
86. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 259; *HK*, p. 115.
87. Ibid., p. 230.
88. *EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 204f; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f.
89. *EHI*, p. 443; *KTA*, p. 208.
90. *HSI*, p. 156; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 255-56.
91. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 255, Note 1.
92. *HSI*, p. 156.
93. Ante, pp. 98-99.
94. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 359.
95. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
96. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 137f; *DKD*, pp. 375-76; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 227; *HK*, p. 104; *KTA*, p. 210.
97. Ante, p. 59.
98. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1f.
99. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 216-17.
100. *EHD*, Vol. II, pp. 505-06.
101. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f; *IAR*, 1962-63, p. 52; *Bhāratī*, Vol. VII, p. 2; *JAHRS*, Vol. VI, p. 169f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 5f.
102. *History of Kanauj*, p. 191; *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 193.
103. *AIK*, p. 19f.
104. *HSI*, p. 156.
105. Ante, p. 189.
106. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 124f; v. 11 and Vol. XVIII, p. 243, v. 7; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 230.
107. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 254.

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VIII

General Administration

THE official records of the early Chālukyas shed light on the polity and administration of the period. Since these records were issued by the reigning monarchs, they carry several details of the day-to-day functioning of the government of the Chālukyas. All the information supplied by these epigraphs, pieced together, presents a vivid picture of their administration. Undoubtedly, the Chālukyan monarchy was influenced by the model prescriptions of the *Smṛtis* and texts on polity; and the many forms of local government in the Chālukyan dominions functioning with royal sanction provided avenues for people's participation in the tasks of government.[1]

Kingship

According to political thinkers of ancient India, the State consists of seven *prakṛtis* or constituent elements: *Svāmī* (King), *Amātya* (Ministry), Deśa or *Rāshṭra* (territory), *Durga* (Fort), *Kośa* (Treasury), *Bala* (Army) and *Mitra* (ally).[2] The *Svāmī* or the king is the first and foremost among them, but it cannot exist in the absence of the six other constituent elements. The king received support from all these six constituents, but was always above them in his absolute power.[3] All these elements were present in the Chālukyan polity. The Chālukyan monarchy was hereditary. The system gave birth

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to a hereditary aristocracy, which was a factor in the Chālukyan scheme of administration. The succession was governed by the law of primogeniture.[4]

The doctrine of the divinity of kings continued to influence the minds of the masses. The king was regarded as a divine protector.[5] The Chālukyan ruler enjoyed the highest position in the scheme of administration and was the sole repository of sovereignty. The epigraphs bear testimony to the fact that he was not a mere reigning sovereign or figurehead, but a supreme executive and head of state, paying individual attention to important matters concerning the state and the people.[6] He was commander-in-chief of the royal forces, and was the ultimate dispenser of justice.[7]

Order of Succession

As prescribed in the ancient law books, succession to the throne was hereditary among the Chālukyas.[8] The eldest son succeeded his father after a requisite training in Śāstras and Śastras.[9] We, however, notice an instance in Chālukyan genealogy of the denial of this right to the legal claimant.[10] We know that Kīrttivarman I was succeeded by his brother Maṅgaleśa, despite the presence of the former's sons, the rightful heirs. In the absence of any definite evidence, it is presumed that Pulakeśin II was a minor at the time of his father's death; and Maṅgaleśa became the ruler as the guardian of the royal children.[11] When Pulakeśin II attained majority, Maṅgaleśa refused to make room for him, and probably tried to ensure a line of succession for his own progeny. Pulakeśin II with public opinion on his side overthrew him after a civil war.[12] This South Indian monarch was not probably succeeded by his son Vikramāditya I, as is hitherto believed.[13] He was not the eldest son.[14] The latter had most probably three elder brothers, namely, Ādityavarman, Chandrāditya and Raṇarāgavarman. In all probability, Ādityavarman succeeded Pulakeśin II immediately after his death.[15] Vikramāditya I ascended the throne when all his elder brothers were dead. Significantly, we notice an instance in early Chālukyan history, where a brother is described as heir-apparent.[16] The Satara Plates describe Vishṇuvardhana as an heir-apparent during the 8th regnal

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year of Mahārāja, identified with Pulakeśin II.

The events prior to accession and after the death of Pulakeśin II made it essential for the Chālukyas to ponder over this question seriously. As a result, there grew the convention of nominating the Yuvarāja, i.e., the heir-apparent.[17] Considerations of ability to rule also obliged them to train the heir-apparent in the art of administration by sharing executive and military functions with the king. Thus, it became the duty of the reigning sovereign to train his successor, which also provided him with an opportunity to judge the prince's ability to rule before appointing him Yuvarāja. In short, succession to the throne was a hereditary right, and a prince's ability to rule was the prime consideration in determining the order of succession.

Royal Consecration

It seems that before being proclaimed as king and occupying the throne, the ceremony of royal consecration or *rājyābhisheka* was performed according to Vedic traditions.[18] Royal princes, vassals and notable representatives of the masses participated in the ceremony[19] of which the details are not given in any records. An inscription of dubious authenticity, however, speaks of this ceremony.[20] The Pali Plates refer to Paṭṭabandhotsava, i.e., coronation ceremony.[21] The dynastic records are dated in regnal years, a practice followed by ancient rulers of several Indian dynasties. The regnal year begins with the date of the coronation. The Badami inscription of the Śaka year 500 refers to royal consecration.[22] The Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II count the regnal years of the king from his coronation.[23] The Narwan Plates of Vikramāditya II not only refer to this ceremony, but also add that *Sāmrājya Lakshmī* had wedded him of her own accord, though festivities followed after some time.[24] The Kendur and Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrttivarman II confirm the above-mentioned statements.[25] The coronation ceremony seems to be incumbent for the king-designate and its non-performance meant denial of legal status to him.

Regency Administration: The regency system seems to have been prevalent during the rule of the Chālukyas of Badami. There are two instances in Chālukyan history, when regents

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ruled during the minority period of the legitimate heir. After Kīrttivarman I, Maṅgaleśa ruled over the Chālukya empire. Kīrttivarman I had not died issueless. He had at least two sons, viz., Pulākeśin II and Vishṇuvardhana, who were his legal successors.[26] They, however, did not succeed him probably because they were minors at that time, and Maṅgaleśa took over the administration[27] and finally usurped the throne. He was, however, dislodged by Pulakeśin II after a civil war, as suggested by the Aihole *Praśasti*.[28]

The next occasion for regency probably arose after the death of king Chandrāditya, who died leaving a minor son as his legal successor. The date of the Nerur Grant, being in Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's regnal year,[29] unmistakably suggests that she was ruling evidently as the regent of her minor son. She reigned in that capacity for at least five years, as is evident from the Nerur Grant of Vijayamahādevi.[30] The language of the grant in question suggests that she was actually reigning.[31] The testimony of the Nerur and Kochare Grants of his chief queen[32] and the Kuknur Inscription of Vikramāditya I[33] are conclusive on this point. No doubt, Vikramāditya I figures prominently in the inscriptions of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, but he is neither called king nor given any royal title.[34] It may, however, be suggested that he functioned as the supreme power on behalf of the lady regent, till he took over the kingship both as a *de-facto* and regular ruler.

These two instances provide evidence for the regency system which on several occasions resulted in the usurpation of authority by the regents themselves. There were frequent protracted civil wars, resulting in great loss to the treasury and dissipation of fighting forces on both sides.[35]

The King and his Place in Administration

The king was the main pivot of the administration and the strength and durability of the kingdom depended on his personality. The fundamental characteristics of the ideal king were diligence, learning and courage, combined with the proficiency of high order in war and diplomacy.[36] The majority of the Chālukyan epigraphs do refer to the excellent qualities of kings.[37] These statements may not be true in every individual

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case, but they certainly give us an idea of what people expected of their rulers. The qualities most stressed are virtue, pleasing conduct, learning, sharp intelligence, proficiency in arts and sciences,[38] knowledge of *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsa* and the *Mahābhārata*,[39] truthfulness, mercy, liberality, devotion to dharma,[40] political insight (*naya*), statesmanship (*nīti*), toleration[41] and, above all, efficien tleadership and personal valour.[42] We find comparisons between individual kings and certain deities or epic and mythological heroes, such as Bṛhaspati,[43] Surya, Indra, Rāma, Vāsudeva, Vishṇu, Śivi, Yudhishthira, Arjuna, Uśīnara, Nṛga, Nahusha, Māndhātā, etc.,[44] to emphasize the above virtues. The dynastic records describe the Chālukya kings as purified having taken the *avabhṛtha* bath after performing the *agnishṭoma vājapeya* and *aśvamedha* sacrifices.[45] There are also references to moral qualities in rulers as, for instance, the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription refers to Pulakeśin I as *Vṛdbhopadeśagrāhī* (i.e., one who heeds the counsel of elders) and *Brahmaṇya*,[46] i.e., the follower of the Brahmanic traditions. The same epigraph describes Kīrttivarman I as one who respects *deva* and *dvija*, while the Maruturu Inscription describes Pulakeśin II as one who remembers the performers of good deeds and forgets the wicked ones.[47] The Satara Grant of Vishṇuvardhana calls him *dharmajña* (well versed in dharma), *kṛtajña* and valorous like Pārtha.[48] The Kopparam Plates call Pulakeśin II one who pays due reverence to *deva*, *dvija*, *guru* and *vṛddha*.[49] The Aihole *Praśasti* also states that the king should not covet others' wives.[50] Thus, in a nutshell, the Chālukyan king was thought to be the abode of learning, lustre, prudence, sportiveness, profundity, highmindedness, valour, renown and delicacy.

As true Kshatriyas,[51] the Chālukyan rulers were conscious of their primary obligation of protecting their subjects from aggression and of being equally interested in their welfare. They provided opportunities to their talented subjects through employment at the Court. The rulers were efficient both as administrators and as commanders and were equally gifted with artistic instincts, patronising learned men and artists and men of other academic pursuits. King Pulakeśin II had a court poet Ravikīrtti, who compared himself with the poets of the repute of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi.[52] Similarly, Vikramāditya II and mem-

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bers of the royal family, including his queen and sister, gave a helping hand to several architects and sculptors of the period, as evinced from the inscriptions discovered at Paṭṭaḍakal.[53] Thus the Chālukyan king had a vision for the upliftment of his people. We find many Chālukyan kings desirous of conquering more kingdoms and territories. The Copper Plates of Vijayāditya and his successors describe the former as one who desired to conquer the entire country emulating his father and grandfather.[54] This was in keeping with the ancient tradition of a '*Vijigīshu*' sovereign. Thus the dynastic records make it perfectly clear that the ruler of this family not only cherished ancient royal traditions but actually followed them in practice.

Education of the Princes

Before being nominated as heir-apparent, the prince had to train himself in the art of warfare besides acquiring knowledge of the *Śāstras*, Epics, Purāṇas, Politics and the sacred laws.[55] The Chālukyan records bear testimony to the fact that the education and training of the princes were properly organised. The Chālukyan kings are described as conversant with *Manusmṛti*, *Purāṇas*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and *Itihāsa*.[56] A Chālukya king is described as having a mind trained by the study of all the *Śāstras*.[57] The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription praises Maṅgaleśa as one who was extremely proficient in diplomacy.[58] The Kopparam Plate describes Pulakeśin II as proficient in the laws.[59] The Hyderabad Copper Plate inscription describes him as well versed in '*Naya*' and '*Vinaya*'.[60] While Alṭem Plates mention Pulakeśin I as proficient in *aya*, *naya* and *vinaya*.[61] The records belonging to the reigns of Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II, credit them with epithets like *prajñata nayasya* (well-versed in politics) *khaḍgamātra sahāyasya*, indicating proper training and education before being appointed as heir-apparents. The inscriptions of Kīrttivarman II tell us that he had received training in *Śāstras* (holy scriptures) and *Śastras* (weapons) during his childhood.[62]

The heir-apparent participated in administrative affairs with the ruler. Vikramāditya I associated his son Vinayāditya and grandson Vijayāditya actively with the administration during his life-time,[63] and thus established a precedent followed by the

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later Chālukyan rulers of Badami. The heir-apparent was vested with several administrative powers, though the details are nowhere available. Probably these varied according to the whims and caprices of the ruler. In the Chālukyan administrative set-up, the heir-apparent had the right to issue grants. Vishṇuvardhana, who describes himself as *Yuvarāja*, issued the Satara Plates, gifting land to five Brāhmaṇas.[61] *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śilāditya, the heir-apparent of Jayasiṁha, the younger brother and subordinate of Vikramāditya I, also issued two grants registering some gifts.[65] They sometimes represented the crown as well. In the settlement arrived at between the mahājanas of Lakshmeśvar and the reigning monarch Vijayāditya, we find prince Vikramāditya II representing the crown and confirming settlements between the above-mentioned parties.[66] The princes generally accompanied the ruling sovereigns on their military campaigns, which gave them an opportunity to have actual training in warfare. Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya accompanied Vikramāditya I on his campaigns against the Southern powers.[67] Vikramāditya II commanded the Chālukyan army against the Pallavas while he was heir-apparent.[68] Kīrttivarman II headed the last expedition of the Chālukyas against the Pallavas.[69] These numerous instances make it evident that for imparting training in war and handling of weapons, the princes actually participated in battles.

Royal Titles and their Significance

The rulers of this dynasty assumed many titles and epithets of considerable importance. We notice that in the early dynastic records, Jayasiṁha, Raṇarāga and Pulakeśin I did not have any significant titles. The Badami inscription of the Śaka year 465 simply calls Pulakeśin I Vallabha,[70] later on which became Prithivīvallabha, and this was adopted by all Chālukyan kings.[71] The later kings of the dynasty assumed imperial titles from Pulakeśin II onwards.[72] This indicates that the use of so many epithets was in consonance with their rising regal status. In the celebration of his victory over Harsha, Pulakeśin II adopted the epithet of *Parameśvara*, i.e., the greatest lord.[73] The Hyderabad Plates bestow this epithet on Pulakeśin II as early as A.D. 612 or 613.[74] In the dynastic epigraphs from Vikramā-

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ditya I onwards, the higher titles of paramountcy, i.e., *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, are added to the existing epithets, raising the full appellation to *Satyāśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Bhaṭṭāraka*, meaning thereby the refuge of truth, the lord of the earth, the king of kings, the great lord.[75] The complete set of epithets was not always used and was often shortened by omitting one or more titles contained in it. Sometimes these titles have substituted the names of the kings. The title *Satyāśraya* has been used to denote Pulakeśin II[76] on several occasions though it has also been used for Pulakeśin I.[77] The feudatories were not allowed to adopt titles of imperial significance but the early Chālukyan rulers of Lāṭa, the feudatories of the main branch, broke this tradition at a later stage.[78]

A few religious epithets, such as *Paramabhāgavata*, *Paramamāheśvara* and *Dharmamahārāja*,[79] are used for the rulers of this dynasty. These indicate the devotion of the monarchs towards Vishṇu and Śiva. According to Sastri, the title of *Dharmamahārāja* indicated their active promotion of the Vedic dharma in preference to Buddhism and Jainism.[80] A few significant *virudas* have also been attributed to certain kings of this dynasty, which are suggestive of their praiseworthy deeds and acts of valour. Pulakeśin I is bestowed the title of *Raṇavikrama* indicating his valour in the battle-field.[81] Kīrttivarman I enjoyed the epithet of '*Pururaṇa-Parākrama*' in the same fashion.[82] Maṅgaleśa took the *virudas* '*Raṇavikrānta*' and *Ururaṇavikrānta*,[83] signifying his valour and prowess on the battle-field. Vikramāditya I enjoyed the titles *Raṇarasika*, *Anivārita* and *Rājamalla*.[84] The last epithet was given to him after he had dealt a crushing defeat to the Pallavas, the traditional family foes.[85] Vinayāditya is adorned with the epithets of *Rājāśraya* and *Yuddhamalla*.[86] As he had given shelter even to kings, he adopted the appellation of *Rājāśraya*, the refuge of kings. The epithet *Yuddhamalla* points to his valour in the battle-field. This might have been adopted on the lines of titles like '*Rājamalla*' and '*Mahāmalla*', signifying his victory over the Pallavas.

Besides the greater imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Parameśvara*, Vijayāditya also bore a new *viruda* of *Samastabhuvanāśraya*.[87] The epithet *Samastabhu-*

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vanāśraya means the refuge of all the world, which, despite its blatant exaggeration, indicates the growth of his authority. He had become *Mahābhaṭṭāraka*, signifying his increased royal status. The Bagalkot Copper Plate Inscription calls him a *chakravartin*.[88] Thus, these titles and *virudas* point to the status, religious faith, military exploits and other achievements of the kings.

Powers and Functions of Rulers

The Chālukyan epigraphs tell us that the king performed the essential duties of *prajārakshaṇa*, *prajāpālana*, *prajārañjana* and *varṇāśramadharma pratipālana* as enjoined by the writers on ancient Indian polity.[89] The Chālukyan ruler had an enlightened conception of his duties and responsibilities, being the chief functionary of the state. The primary function of the king was to protect his subjects from internal disorders and foreign invasions. A strong army and a police force were essential for preserving law and order.[90] A few epigraphs refer to police officials like the *daṇḍapāśikas*, *chaurādhikaraṇas*,[91] *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*,[92] indicating the existence of a police force to maintain law and order.[93] The Chipluṇ Plates of Pulakeśin II call him the exterminator of wicked persons and defender of learned people.[94]

The Chālukyan rulers sincerely strove for the welfare and happiness of their people. Though kings had unbridled authority, they could not have behaved like tyrants for that would have provoked rebellion. The lofty ideals of charity, impartiality, self-restraint, a liberal attitude towards learning and the learned and respect for religion were constantly in their minds.[95] While being princes, their education was so planned as to make them self-controlled, learned and brave.

The *Smṛti* texts enjoin upon the kings the duty of *prajānurañjana*.[96] These point out that the king can become a successful ruler only if he follows the precepts of the elders, studies the art of government, cultivates piety and protects his subjects efficiently.[97] The Goḍachi Plates of Kaṭṭi-arasa, i.e., Kīrttivarman I, tell us that he dispensed justice to his people and ensured their contentment.[98] The Chālukyan kings are described as performers of several sacrifices,[99] which provided oppor-

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tunities to distribute charity in the form of gold, grain and land to the learned in accordance with the traditions of *prajānurañjana*. The Chālukyan epigraphs register several land gifts in favour of the Brāhmaṇas, religious institutions, sects and other individuals, indicating their sincere efforts in this direction.[100]

The king had to uphold the established social order based on the *Smṛtis* and other sacred lores.[101] For achieving this, the king had to preserve the *dharma*, which was the main basis of social organisation. The king always acted as the secular arm of *dharma*, and not as a sectarian head. The kings were devoted to the performance of religious sacrifices and felt delighted in defending *Varṇāśrama*.[102] The Aḷtem Plates describe Pulakeśin I as protecting *Varṇāśrama* and *Sarvadharma*.[103]

There is no denying the fact that the ruler had basically little control over social and religious institutions of the period, unless matters of dispute relating to them were brought before him or to his court for having his verdict. The Satara Grant describes Vishṇuvardhana as *dharmajña*[104] probably suggesting this aspect of kingly duties. A few Chālukyan kings are credited with the *viruda* of '*dharmamahārāja*' which further confirms that *varṇāśramadharma pratipālana* was one of their objectives.[105]

The king appointed viceroys, governors, ministers and other important civil and military officials[106] who were answerable to him. It seems that these were sometimes transferred from one province to another, as and when considered necessary. Bāṇarāja, for instance, one of the vassals ruling under the Chālukyas, is described as ruling over Gaṅga-Renadu, Turumāra and Gananūru provinces in different inscriptions.[107] Vikramāditya I appointed his younger brother Jayasiṁha to govern the Gujarat and Nasik regions[108] but entrusted to Svāmichandra of the Harischandra family the administration of the whole Purī-Koṅkaṇa.[109] Pulakeśin II appointed his younger brother governor of Veḷvoḷa and later on transferred him as governor of the newly conquered territory of Veṅgi.[110] Buddhavarasarāja, an uncle of Vikramāditya I, was ruling over the areas around Aṁvaranta Vishaya as the subordinate of his nephew.[111] Thus it seems reasonable to believe that members of the royal family assisted the king in administration, functioning as his deputies in the provinces and in the army.

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During the days of peace, the king used to spend most of his working time in court,[112] meeting people and looking after general administration. He wielded control over every organ of the administration. His name as a ruler figured in the records of his vassals as a token of his authority. Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman could grant a village named Karellikā only after seeking prior sanction of his overlord as evinced by the Goa Grant.[113] Several land grants make it plain that royal consent was necessary for the transfer of the state property. The king also conferred titles and distinctions on his feudatories for meritorious services. King Vikramāditya II had conferred the titles of *Chāllukikulādhāra*, *Pṛthivīvallabha*, *Anivaritayitri* and *Dakshiṇāpathasādhāra* on Pulakeśirāja in appreciation of his service for repulsing the Tājikas.[114]

The Copper Plate Inscriptions registering many land gifts and civil orders issued from different places of encampment indicate that the king undertook frequent tours of inspection, accompanied by civil and military officials, who conveyed his orders while on tour.[115] This enabled him to gauge the real conditions of his people and remove grievances on the spot. It also enabled him to assess the performance and evaluation of the work of his officials stationed in different parts of the kingdom.

The Chālukyan king was also the supreme judge of the realm. The Chālukyan king Maṅgaleśa is described as *nyāyānuvartī*.[116] The Goḍachi Plates of Kaṭṭi-arasa (Kīrttivarman I) call him one who is happy in dispensing justice to the people.[117] It seems that justice was ensured by the king's officials at the village, district, division and provincial headquarters. The king was, however, the final court of appeal. It is difficult to say whether judicial officials were separately appointed, or administrative officers were vested with judicial functions as well.

The dynastic epigraphs do not throw much light on the judicial powers of the king. Pulakeśin II has been described as well-versed in law[118] and many Chālukyan rulers are mentioned as proficient in the *Smṛtis*, *Śrutis* and other ancient treatises on polity.[119] These references make it evident that these powers were vested in the king. The Chālukyan kings took pride in stating in their records that they studied these works and implicitly followed their teaching in respect of judicial administration.

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The Chālukyan king was also the commander-in-chief of his forces. During the war he himself led the army on the battle-field. We know that probably Pulakeśin II was defeated and killed by the Pallava ruler Narasiṁhavarman on the battle-field, while he was commanding his forces.[120] Vikramāditya I had stormed Kāñchī, while he himself was leading his army.[121] Vikramāditya II had headed the Chālukyan forces, which invaded Kāñchī thrice.[122] In times of war and calamity, the king marched with his army for boosting the morale of his troops and directing the operative strategy of war. The Chālukyan epigraphs describe kings of this dynasty as brave, gallant and anxious to perform heroic deeds.[123] A few kings are referred to as having valour like that of Paraśurāma and Pārtha.[124] The kings supervised military affairs with the help of the minister for peace and war and officials named *balādhikṛta* or *mahā-balādhikṛta*.[125]

Members of the Royal Family

The dynastic records reveal that the king was assisted in his administration and cultural activities by the members of the royal family. Sastri thinks that "important members of the kingly family formed a commission to help the emperor in the administration."[126] Though there is no evidence to sustain such a supposition, it cannot be denied that the king utilised the services of capable and loyal members of the royal family by appointing them to suitable administrative posts in the kingdom.[127] The members of the royal family served the king in various capacities, including those of governors and commanders.[128] It depended entirely on the whim and caprice of the sovereign, as the practice involved many risks to the very existence of kingly authority. Sometimes it resulted in fratricidal wars and the establishment of collateral branches.[129] The Chālukyan dynasty also suffered on this account. This practice, however, had some good results as well. The chances of rebellions and insurrections were considerably reduced as the king's family members were less likely to revolt against the authority of the head of state. The sovereigns of this dynasty followed the policy of appointing their family members to important positions in different parts of their empire.[130] They

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even allowed the vanquished rulers of once independent states to administer their own kingdoms.[131]

The Role of the Queen

The Chālukyan records refer to queen-consorts of the ruling monarchs. Either they figure as donating land for acquiring religious merit,[132] or as providing help for the betterment of public institutions.[133] A queen of this dynasty, Vijayamahādevī, had the opportunity of ruling over the kingdom after the death of her husband Chandrāditya, most probably as the regent of her minor son.[134] She assumed the titles of *Bhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahādevī*, which are suggestive of her being the ruler.[135] The Kurtākoṭi undated Stone Slab Inscription refers to Lokatinimmadi governing Kuruttakuṁte.[136] Sastri considers the name as identical with Vijayāditya's daughter-in-law Lokamahādevī, a Haihaya princess, since the name sounds feminine.[137] This seems to suggest that sometimes queens of reigning monarchs or princesses were entrusted with administrative duties.

The queens were also devoted to learning and charity. The Poona Grant of Vinayāditya was issued at the instance of the chief queen Vinayavatī, for gifting some land for *Kanyādharmārtha*.[138] The same queen figures as *rājamātā* in the Badami Pillar Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya, which records the installation of the images of the Hindu Trinity at Badami with the concurrence of her son, the ruling sovereign.[139] The Gadval Plates[140] of Vikramāditya I were issued at the request of Gaṅga-Mahādevī, who was a Chālukyan princess. The Bagalkot Copper Plate Inscription[141] records a gift by the king Vijayāditya at the request of his sister Kuṁkumadevī,[142] who was also responsible for the construction of a Jain monastery at Puligere, as is evident from the Shiggaon Plates of Vijayāditya.[143]

The early Chālukya records engraved in the temples at Paṭṭaḍakal speak of two queens of king Vikramāditya II, Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī. The Paṭṭaḍakal inscriptions of Lokamahādevī[144] record the re-admission into his caste of Sutradhārī, an architect of the temple of god Lokeśvara constructed by queen Lokamahādevī in celebration of the three

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successive victories of her husband over Kāñchī. This inscription shows that state-wide festivities followed the Chālukyan conquests which also included the construction of temples.[145] She confirmed the gift of her father-in-law Vijayāditya in favour of some singers, as gathered from another inscription at Paṭṭaḍakal reflecting her artistic interests and patronage to musicians.[146] Another record at Paṭṭaḍakal mentions the construction of the Lokeśvara temple by Lokamahādevī, and the Trailokeśvara temple by Trailokyamahādevī, both named after the donors.[147]

The chief queen (*Mahādevī*) of Kīrttivarman II, the last Chālukyan monarch, also figures in connection with a gift, which was given at her request by the king from his military camp at Raktapura,[148] suggesting her presence on tour along with the ruler. All these references suggest that the queen helped the monarch in administrative matters.

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

Ministers, their Designations, Powers and Functions

The king used to look after important policy matters of government, while the routine business of administration was transacted by his ministers. The *Smṛtis* ordain that he should govern the people with the counsel of his ministers.[149] The dynastic epigraphs do not throw much light on this point. The family records are equally silent about the formal council of ministers. The Eastern Chālukyan records, however, refer to '*mantrī*' and '*pradhāna*', besides a few other ministers.[150] Mahalingam says that sufficient evidence is available to show that ministerial councils existed in the Deccan during the time of the Chālukyas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Yādavas.[151] On the other hand, Sastri suggests that "there are many indications that the entire administration of the State was treated as more or less vested in a commission in the whole royal family, and of the ruling sovereign's readiness to employ all capable and loyal members of that family in suitable administrative posts in the kingdom".[152] All official records of the Chālukyas were drafted and written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* or *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, i.e., the minister for foreign affairs or the minister for

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external affairs.[153] Thus we have clear proof of the existence of a royal minister who was the adviser to the king in matters relating to peace and war. Therefore, we cannot deny the existence of the ministry. It might be pointed out that a few members of the royal family were also included in the ministry. The faith reposed by the reigning monarchs in Maṅgaleśa and Vishṇuvardhana proved disastrous for the dynasty.

The records do not give us any idea of the number of the ministers in the State. The *Smṛtis* refer to the importance of ministers and recommend the appointment of three, five or seven ministers.[154] Divergent views are held by the authors of the *Smṛtis*. The departments entrusted to the ministers were those of revenue, expenditure, protection of the king's person and army,[155] but the only ministerial department referred to in the records of the Chālukyas is that of peace and war. We have no definite evidence to suggest the office of Prime Minister. The term *Mahābrāhmaṇa* mentioned in the Goḍachi Plates might, however, refer to him.[156] This is almost confirmed by the epithets '*rājyasarvasva*' and '*dhurandhara*' bestowed upon him in the records.[157]

In all the official records of the Chālukyas, the minister for peace and war figures as the drafter and writer of official records, indicating his impact on the administrative machinery of the Chālukyas. The ministers were probably appointed directly by the king and heredity was the prime consideration in such appointments as it ensured allegiance and loyalty.[158] The office of minister was a very important and responsible one, and consequently it seemed that only experienced and qualified persons, noted for their noble lineage, virtuous conduct, truthfulness, generosity, devotion to duty, learning, valour and keen insight, with capacity to keep official secrets, were appointed to it.[159]

As indicated earlier, the Chālukyan records refer to only one minister, i.e., *sāndhivigrahika*, the minister for peace and war, or minister for foreign affairs. The literal meaning of the term indicates that he was the counsellor of the king on matters of *sandhi* (peace) and *vigraha* (war) or conductor of war and peace.[160] Significantly, the *Mānasollāsa*, a literary work of the time of the Later Chālukyas, includes among the qualifications of a *sāndhivigrahika* good acquaintance with

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several languages and scripts and outstanding tact and skill in dealing with feudatories and vassals. He should be, besides, an expert in diplomacy and finance.[161] This seems to indicate that his duties were of the highest political importance, and that they spread over the whole range of administrative responsibilities, both internal and external. Thus, probably the *sāndhivigrahika* was the most influential member of the Chālukyan government. The Godachi Plates of Katti-arasa describe a minister of Kīrttivarman I as bearing the burden of the government; he is also described as *rājyasarvasva*.[162] This shows the status and position of the ministers in the eyes of the king. We can have an idea of the outstanding achievements of the individual ministers from such statements. The most important function of the ministers was to advise the king on affairs of state. The ministers wielded considerable power.[163] In cases of emergency, they carried on the administration of the state and placed their nominee from among the princes on the throne. At the sudden death of Pulakeśin II, probably his sons were enthroned by the ministers.

There does not appear to have been any clear-cut division of civil and military functions of state officials and it was possible for the civil officials to be charged with military responsibilities as well. All the official Chālukyan records issued from the military camps were drafted by the *sāndhivigrahikas* who always accompanied the rulers on their military campaigns. A few records belonging to the feudatories of the Chālukyas are, however, drafted by *balādhikṛta* or *mahābalādhikṛta* and *bhogika*.[164] An inscription of Vikramāditya II engraved on the walls of Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñchī shows that the minister for peace and war was present at Kāñchī when it was conquered by the Chālukyas.[165]

Provision was made for plurality of offices. According to the Manor Plates, the Sāndhivigrahika Bhaṭṭa Rudranāga was holding the three high offices of *akshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhipati*, *divirapati* and *sāndhivigrahika*.[166] A few epigraphs belonging to the feudatories of the Chālukyas are drafted by *Balādhikṛta* or *Mahābalādhikṛta* indicating that sometimes they replaced the minister for peace and war.[167] The Chālukyan *Sāndhivigrahikas* belonged to the *Puṇyavallabha* lineage.[168] The ministers of the Puṇyavallabha family are also accorded the title of

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Niravadya.[169] Bhaṭṭa Rudranāga, son of Kumāraswāmī Dīkshita, who figured as the drafter of the Manor Plates, is also described as *Niravadya Parameśvara*.[170] (Since Rudranāga was a brāhmin, so it seems that Puṇyavallabhas were also Brāhmaṇa by caste.) The epithet *niravadya* and family name *Puṇyavallabha* appear to be related to Jainism. Nothing can, however, be said definitely on this point, till we get fuller evidence. However, a minister of Katti-arasa (Kīrttivarman I) mentioned in the Godachi Plates is described as *mahā-brāhmaṇa*.[171] Thus, it could be presumed that Brāhmaṇas were preferred for ministership by the rulers of this dynasty.

Further, we find that all the *sāndhivigrahikas* referred to in the records of the Chālukyas were related to one another. During the reign of Vikramāditya I, Jayasena or Jayatasena was the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*.[172] He was the father-in-law of the succeeding *sāndhivigrahika* Puṇyavallabha or Śrīrāma *Puṇyavallabha*, who served as a minister for peace and war during the reigns of Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya.[173] In the later part of the reign of Vijayāditya, Niravadya Puṇyavallabha became the minister for peace and war.[174] In the reign of Vikramāditya II Anivārita Puṇyavallabha entrusted with this office was from the Puṇyavallabha family.[175] Dhanañjaya Puṇyavallabha served as *Sāndhivigrahika* during the reign of the last Chālukyan monarch Kīrttivarman II.[176] Thus, it is quite apparent that all these persons belonged to the family of Puṇyavallabha and were the successors of their predecessors. So it seems that the office of the minister for foreign affairs was hereditary, probably with the sanction and approval of the crown.

Some type of administrative machinery under the routine supervision of the ministers was existing at Vāṭāpi, the Chālukyan capital, to keep the realm of the vast territories in the hands of the king. The chief secretariat of the empire functioned under the *Divirapati*, i.e., the chief of the secretariat. The Manor Copper Plates describe the drafter of the record, Bhaṭṭa Rudranāga, as *Sāndhivigrahika*, *divirapati* and *akshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhipati* equivalent to the present minister for revenue, peace and war, and 'chief of the secretariat' or the chief secretary.[177] We know that the *akshapaṭalika* was an officer of the revenue department and *divirapati* the chief

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of *diviras* (clerks).[178] Even if we do not agree with the assumption of Kṛshṇadeva, this goes to prove that there were at least three departments in the central secretariat of the Chālukyas, viz., war and peace, revenue and records and general administration headed by a *divirapati*. The supposition makes it evident that the *Sāndhivigrahika* was a very influential man in the Central Government and that is why he used to accompany the king on tours and military campaigns.

No information is available with regard to the working of the ministers at the capital. On the basis of epigraphic evidence, it is also not possible to work out their emoluments and functions. Probably, the emoluments were paid both in cash and in kind. The supposition becomes more probable because taxes were realised by the Chālukyas both in cash and in kind. Important services to the crown were rewarded with gifts of land and valuables as well as with titles of distinction.

Administrative Divisions

Thus the Alṭem Copper Plate Inscription of Pulakeśin I describes him as the lord (*Īśvara*) of *Madhyavartideśa* and the Chālukya kingdom under him as an empire.[179] The Badami Inscription of Śaka 500 refers to the Chālukyan empire as the earth (*avanī*) extended upto the four oceans.[180] In the Nerūr Plates of Maṅgalarāja, the term "*rāshṭra*" denotes the empire of the Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa,[181] while the Aihole *Praśasti* of Pulakeśin II mentions that he was the lord of three *Mahārāshṭras*, consisting of 99000 villages and the empire was bounded by two oceans.[182] However, a Chālukyan inscription refers to a Chālukya *Vishaya* but its context in the inscription makes us believe that it does not connote the Chālukyan empire but a division of the Chālukyan territories.[183]

The Chālukyan empire was divided into different administrative divisions varying in size. We do not notice any uniform system in this regard for all the parts of the empire after many conquests in different directions from their capital. The older political units were probably made a province of the empire. The nomenclature of the provincial divisions differed according to the regions, as is evidenced by the dynastic epigraphs discovered in the Lāṭa region and in Mahārāshṭra.[184] The

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Chālukyan empire had several revenue units without any regard to size and population. The following administrative units are referred to in the dynastic records of the Early Chālukyas and their subordinates.

Rāshṭra: The term '*rāshṭra*' is of Vedic antiquity.[185] The 'raṭhikas' or 'rāshṭrikas' do figure in the inscriptions of Aśoka.[186] Manu has used the term in relation to the State.[187] According to the *Amarakosha*, the words *deśa*, *rāshṭra*, *vishaya* and *janapada* are synonyms.[188] In the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, the term '*rāshṭra*' occurs in the sense of a district, with villages forming part of it.[189] In the dynastic epigraphs of the Chālukyas, the term *rāshṭra* occurs with reference to the empire as well as corresponding to a district. The Nerūr Plates of Maṅgalarāja describe him as one who follows the course of justice in his *rāshṭra*, indicating that the term *rāshṭra* denotes the Chālukyan empire.[190] A few Chālukyan inscriptions mention some villages as situated in the *rāshṭra* and also *rāshṭra* as the division of a *vishaya*.[191] We do not find uniformity of this term in the epigraphic usages.

However, it appears that the Chālukyan empire consisted of at least three great divisions, as is evident from the Aihole *Praśasti* of Pulakeśin II.[192] Hiuen-Tsang also calls him the ruler of *Mo-ho-la-cha*, i.e., Mahārāshṭra.[193] It plainly says that the term 'Maharashtra' does not connote the present Marathi-speaking area but probably it means three great divisions of Pulakeśin's empire. The Chālukyan epigraphs refer to certain other *rāshṭras* connoting smaller territorial entities. The Kopparam Plates of Pulakeśin II[194] record the gift of some land in the village named Iṟubuli situated in *Karmmarāshṭra*. The Nāndgaon[195] and Añjanerī[196] Plates refer to *Goparāshṭra*, in which the gifted villages were situated. *Goparāshṭra* is also mentioned as one of the *vishayas* of Purī-Koṅkaṇa. These references stand in the way to equate the term *rāshṭra*, denoting the provincial division of the empire.

Deśa: The other administrative units referred to in the records of the dynasty are *deśa*, *nāḍu*, *maṇḍala*, *vishaya*, *bhoga*, *āhāra* and *grāma*. The Chālukyan epigraphs refer to *Challakideśa* (*Challuṁkideśa*)[197] and *Kheṭahāradeśa*.[198] The villages named Jammalagrāma and Karellikā are described as situated in the above-mentioned two *deśas*, respectively. The

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reference to *Challuṁkideśa* is quite interesting, We know that *deśa* is among the seven *prakṛtis* of the state.[199] According to Mirashi, *deśa* corresponds to the province.[200] But the Tummeyanūru Plates of Pulakeśin II equate it with *vishaya*.[201] Purī-Koṅkaṇa—14000, referred to in the Añjanerī Plates of Sāmanta Bhogaśakti, is described as *vishaya* but it signifies a province (*deśa*) because Goparāshṭra is mentioned in the record as one of the *Vishayas* of *Purī-Koṅkaṇa* consisting of 14000 villages.[202] Except for *Purī-Koṅkaṇa*, the official Chālukyan records do not state the extent of any other administrative unit. The above detailed references make it apparent that sometimes *Vishaya* was used as a synonym for *deśa*. The Goa Grant refers to Indravarman as the *adhipati* of four *vishava maṇḍalas* who gifted a village situated in Kheṭahāradeśa.[203] This means that a ruler of four *vishaya-maṇḍalas* cannot donate a village situated in a *deśa* corresponding to a province, as he sought the prior sanction of his overlord. In this record, it appears to correspond to a *vishaya*. Most probably the term *Challuṁkideśa* does not signify Chālukyan territory but the original territory of the royal Chālukyan house of Badami, from where they came into prominence. As a village is described as situated in a *deśa*, it does not appear to be a larger unit than *vishaya*, i.e., district, but we find a reference to *Choḷika vishaya* in the Jejūrī Plates.[204] There it does not signify the Chola district, but stands for Chola territory. It appears that after crossing the land of the Cholas, the Chālukyas invaded the Pallava stronghold. The reference to it as a *vishaya* can only be due to the loose use of the term.

Nāḍu: The Chāṇḍan Stone Inscription of Vijayāditya Kaṭṭirāju registers a gift of some land, when Bāṇarāja was ruling over Gaṅgarenāḍu.[205] The Vīrareḍḍipalle Stone Inscription of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya records the grant of some land when Bāṇarāja was governing Vamganūr-nāḍu.[206] These two records notice an administrative division called *nāḍu* quite uncommon in the Deccan. According to Mahalingam, "The southern parts of the Tamil country appear to have been divided into units known as *nāḍus*. Probably they were independent political units originally and after their conquest by a greater power, they were retained as subordinate administrative units under the conquerors and were allowed to retain their original

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names."[207] Both the above-mentioned records were discovered in Anantpur district forming part of the area snatched by the Chālukyas after defeating the Pallavas and their allies. The way this unit is referred to in the Chālukyan epigraphs suggests it to be a small provincial division, once ruled by an independent ruler and later on becoming part of the Chālukyan empire. The term *nāḍu* most probably corresponds to the Sanskrit *rāshṭra*. Though the terms *rāshṭra*, *deśa* and *nāḍu* connote bigger areas than *Vishaya*, the records do not specify their limits.[208]

Maṇḍala: As an administrative unit a *maṇḍala* rarely occurs in the records of the Chālukyas. It is, however, associated with a *vishaya* in a record of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, who is described as the governor (*adhipati*) of four *Vishaya-maṇḍalas*. This makes it evident that *Vishaya* and *maṇḍala* were not synonyms as the phrase "*Vishayamaṇḍala Chatushṭavādhipatinā*" occurs in the Goa Grant.[209] The Harihara Plates of Vinayāditya record a gift of some land in a village, which is described as situated in *Eḍevoḷal* Bhoga under the *maṇḍala* of Vanavāsī.[210] It indicates that a *maṇḍala* was a higher unit of administration as compared to a *Vishaya*. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions Kashmira as a *maṇḍala*, though we know that it has always been a country or *deśa*.[211] Moreover, on the basis of the Pratīhāra records, Dr. Puri has proved that *maṇḍala* was the higher unit of administration than *Vishaya*, i.e., district.[212] In all likelihood it corresponds to the present division.

Vishaya: The majority of the grants of the Chālukyas refer to the gift of villages and their situation in some *Vishaya*. Those mentioned include *Chipluṇ*, *Cholika*, *Gaṅgavaḍi*, *Vaṁguravaḍi*, *Avareṭikā*, *Uchchhaśṛṅga*, *Kuhuṇḍi*, *Puṇaka*, *Nalavādi*, *Vanavāsī*, *Bāṇarājavishaya*, *Kaṇva Vishaya*, *Palasige*, *Talitaṭāhāra* and *Karmmaṇyāhāra*, etc. The administrative unit *Vishaya* usually corresponds to the present district of a varying size which includes many villages. The bigger ones noted in the records are Chālukya, Cholika and Purī-Koṅkaṇa—14000 *Vishayas*.[213] These were certainly larger units of administration as Goparāshṭra is described as one of the *vishayas* of Purī-Koṅkaṇa The *vishaya* in this context cannot be a district. It seems that while it has been used with some adjectives denoting the name of a dynasty, such as Cholika and Chālukya, it

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appears to refer to the original territories of the related dynasties. The reference to these as *vishayas* can only be due to the loose use of the term. This is the only explanation that can be offered about such anomalies. *Vishaya*, *janapada*, *deśa* and *rāshṭra* are regarded as synonymous terms.[214] We have an instance where a *vishaya* is described as situated in another *vishaya*. Goparāshṭra *Vishaya* is also described as situated in Purī-Koṅkaṇa *Vishaya*.[215] Thus, on the basis of dynastic records, it is difficult to determine the exact extent of the *vishayas* and their relative positions with regard to *deśa* and *rāshṭra*. *Rāshṭra* and *deśa* connote bigger geographical entities. A *vishaya* was administered by a *Vishayapati* (*Deśādhigārigala*).[216]

Bhoga: The Chālukyan epigraphs refer to *vishaya* as a unit higher than a village, the lowest unit of Chālukyan administrative set-up. But the Jejūrī Plates of Vinayāditya mention a unit '*bhoga*' between *grāma* and *vishaya*. The donated village 'Vīra' is described as situated in Sātimāla *bhoga*, which was in Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa *Vishaya*.[217] The *bhoga* probably corresponded to present taluka in the Deccan. It was probably administered by *Bhogapati* or *Bhogika*, who sometimes figured as one of the informants in the Chālukyan records[218] or as a drafter of the record.

Āhāra: The Navsārī Plates of Śryāśraya Śilāditya mention that the donated village was situated in Kanhavaḷa *āhāra* and included in Bāhirikā *vishaya*.[219] Thus, it seems that the *vishaya* was divided into smaller units generally called *āhāra* in the Gujarat area of the Chālukyan empire and *bhoga* in Mahārāshṭra. Some *āhāras* had the same name as the *vishayas* in which they were included and so the two technical terms are often combined, as is evidenced by the phrase '*Kārmaṇyohāra-Vishaya-Treyaṇṇāhāra-Vishaya*' occurring in the Navsārī Grant. Mirashi considers it a mistake on the part of the scribe and regards the intended statement as "*Karmaṇyohāra Treyaṇṇāhara Vishayāntarggata*".[220] The Mudgapadra Grant of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya refers to the village Mudgapadra, which was situated in Vichi-āhāra.[221] Thus, it seems that *āhāras* or *bhogas* were the lower units of administration as compared to a *vishaya*. They seem to correspond to the present taluka in the Deccan. Under Sātavāhana supremacy, '*āhāra*' corresponded to the present district.[222] The Chālukyan epigraphs do not

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furnish the nomenclature of the administrator of an *āhāra*.

Grāma: The lowest unit of the Chālukyan administration was *grāma*. Several villages referred to in the Chālukyan records were gifted to various Brāhmaṇas. The village as a unit was under the administrative control of gāmuṇḍa (gavuṇḍa), as mentioned in the Āḍur and several other inscriptions.[223] The other officials connected with village administration include *grāmabhogika* and *grāmakūṭa*.[224] These officials were functioning in cooperation with the *mahattaras*.

Pura-Nagara: The Chālukyan kingdom included a number of cities and towns like Vāṭāpi, Vanavāsī, Pāṇḍipura, Raktapura, Tagara, Puḷikere (Lakshmeśvar) and Paṭṭada Kiśuvoḷal. There must have been separate administrative units for these because the Āḍur inscription mentions *Sindarasa* as governing the city of Pāṇḍipura.[225] Probably the capital city (*adhishṭhāna*) of Vāṭāpi was under the Central administration, as Badami is described as a bride of Pulakeśin I.[226] The same status seems to have been accorded to *Vanavāsī*, as both are described in the Aihole *Praśasti* in eloquent terms.[227]

Provincial Administration

The system of provincial administration of the Chālukyas appears to be complicated. As already stated, the empire was divided into several units. Nothing definite is known about their nomenclature and extent, but these provinces certainly included a number of *vishayas*. On the basis of the information gathered from the Chālukyan inscriptions, it seems that they were of three categories.

In the first category we can include those provinces, which were governed by the members of the royal family. Actually, these princes were functioning as deputies of the king. To avoid confusion, they are referred to as viceroys. The Lāṭa, Nāsika and Veṅgī regions were such provinces of the Chālukyan empire.[228] The second category included those provinces which were ruled by the governors appointed by the emperor on grounds of their allegiance. They comprised those persons who had earlier lost to the Chālukyas in war and had surrendered.[229] The third category included the feudatories who were given a fief and were expected to provide some troops to the emperor

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when demanded. They gave annual tribute and presents on special occasions.[230]

Thus the provincial administration was carried through viceroys, governors and *sāmantas*. The viceroys of provinces were appointed by the emperor, who were responsible for the protection of their territories against external invasions and maintaining internal order. They were probably also assigned the job of helping the feudatories and were required to keep watch over their activities. As a rule, only members of the royal family were appointed to this office. The crown prince Vishṇuvardhana was appointed viceroy of the newly conquered territories of Veṅgī by king Pulakeśin II.[231] Vikramāditya I appointed his younger brother Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha as viceroy of Goparāshṭra and Lāṭa.[232] Pulakeśirāja was administering the Lāṭa country as viceroy of Vikramāditya II.[233] The Sāñjan Copper Plate Inscription mentions Buddhavarasarāja, an uncle of the Chālukyan king Vikramāditya I,[234] ruling over the Poona region as viceroy of his nephew. By promoting good government and public confidence, they strengthened the foundation of the empire. Probably they were vested with the power of appointing their subordinate officers as is evidenced from the inscriptions of Jayasiṁha, Śryāśraya Śilāditya, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa and Pulakeśirāja from the Lāṭa region.[235] It seems that all the departments that existed at the imperial capital had their replicas in the provincial headquarters, but details are lacking.

Governors: Among the informants of the Chālukyan grants, we are introduced to *sāmantas* and *rājasāmantas*.[236] It seems that the sāmantas were the feudatories and the *rājasāmantas* were the governors of the provinces appointed by the emperor. Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Bappūra family was appointed governor of the four *vishaya maṇḍalas* by Pṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja (Maṅgaleśa).[237] Svāmichandra of the Hariśchandra family was ruling over the entire Purī-Koṅkaṇa region as governor under Vikramāditya I, who treated the former as his own son.[238] Bhogaśakti of the same family was administering Purī-Koṅkaṇa—14000 as governor of Vijayāditya, the contemporary Chālukyan overlord.[239] It seems that persons of extremely high administrative calibre and unshakable loyalty were appointed governors of provinces. The governors adminis-

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tered their charge on behalf of the emperor and were responsible to him. They were probably vested with the power to appoint their subordinate officials like *vishayapatis*, *bhogikas* and *rāshṭra-grāmakūṭas*. The office of governor was also hereditary. The Añjanerī Plates of Bhogaśakti mention that his grandfather was the governor of Purī-Koṅkaṇa during the reign of Vikramāditya I and his father Siṁharāja graced the same office during the reign of Vinayāditya.[240] Bhogaśakti was the governor of Purī-Koṅkaṇa when Vijayāditya was the Chālukyan overlord.

Feudatories: The Chālukyan rulers had a number of feudal lords of varying statuses and belonging to different dynasties. They were allowed to administer their territories in accordance with the ancient traditions and precepts. They accepted the overlordship of their paramount sovereign and paid periodical tributes.[241] They also followed the emperor with their troops during the military campaigns of the former. The feudal lords also enjoyed position and status in the court of the emperor.[242] The names of the territories annexed by the rulers were not changed, though the *sāmantas* could be transferred from one region to another at the emperor's will.[243] Such position under the Chālukyas was enjoyed by the Alūpas (Alūkas), Sindas, Sendrakas, Bāṇas, Gaṅgas, Telugu-Cholas, Nalas and others.[244]

Local Administration

The Chālukyan epigraphs furnish many interesting details regarding the local administration of cities and villages. This seems to suggest that the Chālukyas had not only promoted and patronised these ancient institutions but also liberalised their administrative set-up to a considerable extent. Among the informants of the Chālukyan grants we notice *mahattaras*, *mahājanas*, and *mahattarādhikārins*, who were probably village elders belonging to the important families who assisted the village headman in the administration of the village.[245] The Lakshmeśvar Inscription of prince Vikramāditya II refers to *mahājanas*, *nagara* and eighteen *prakṛtis* of the town of Puligere.[246] Several guilds are also referred to in the Chālukyan records,[247] which played an important role in the working of the village assemblies and municipalities.

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Town Administration: A badly mutilated Stone Inscription from Lakshmeśvar of the time of Vijayāditya refers to heir-apparent Vikramāditya II and the local set-up at Puligere.[248] It records an '*Āchāra Vyavasthe*' (charter of rights and duties) sanctioned by the heir-apparent, representing the crown, to the *mahājanas*, *nagara* and the eighteen *prakṛtis* (classes) of Porigere (Puligere), i.e., Lakshmeśvar.[249] The charter further specifies the position of royal officers and their relation to local bodies. The charter enjoins the officers to protect vacant houses, gifts, copper plates and also perform certain other duties.[250] The revenue of these local bodies was derived from taxation.[251] In this connection, the *mahājanas* were asked to pay a tax every year in the month of *Vaiśākha* to the *deśādhipati* according to their status (the highest being ten *paṇas* and the lowest 3 *paṇas*). Middle-class householders were required to pay 5 *paṇas* and intermediates seven *paṇas*. Then it prescribes a tax to be paid by the people to a guild in the month of *Kārttika*.[252] It also refers to the association of *Paṇḍis* and *Seṭṭis* but their exact functions are not referred to.[253] The inscription associates the guilds of oilmen, braziers and others.[254] It mentions the taxes to be paid by the people for some festival which might have been celebrated under the auspices of the above-mentioned local body.[255] The occasion arose for the issue of the charter consequent to some dispute between the municipal councillors and the royal authorities. On the basis of this it could be concluded that the same type of local government was prevalent in other cities of the Chālukyan empire and *mahājanas*, the chiefs of the guilds, *mahallakas* and head of business communities constituted the assembly of a town.[256]

Village Administration: The village has always been the lowest unit of administration. The village administration was carried on with the help of the *mahājanas*, *mahattaras* and *mahattarādhikārins* and *gāmuṇḍas* (village officials) who were probably appointed by the king or his representative.[257] On the basis of the Chālukyan grants, it can be assumed that the boundaries of every village were properly demarcated. The social and economic affairs of the village were in the hands of the *mahājanas* (village elders), as evidenced by the Bannikop Inscription which describes Banniyūr as being governed by *mahājanas*.[258] A Chālukyan Inscription mentions that prior

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permission was obtained from the village *mahājanas* before a piece of land was transferred to the temple (Mahājana prajā-sammataḍe-Koṭṭuḍu), i.e., given away with the assent of the subjects who were *mahājanas*.[259] The village officers (*gāmuṇḍas*) are referred to in the Āḍur inscriptions and Lakshmeśvar inscriptions of Vikramāditya II.[260] According to Ghoshal, the *mahattaras* were the leading householders of the villages and *mahattarādhikārins* probably represented the executive body of the assembly of *mahattaras*.[261] On the basis of the above details, we can say that the village assembly consisted of leading householders of the village, especially constituted to look after the social and economic aspects of village life. The *gāmuṇḍas* administered the villages in consultation with the *mahattarādhikārin*. The *grāmabhogikas* and *grāmakūṭas* were probably government officials related to the administration of the villages.[262] The Āḍur Inscription also refers to the *Karaṇas* (the village accountants).[263] Probably these *Karaṇas* maintained the accounts of the proceeds of taxes charged from the householders of the village for the functioning of the assembly. In the absence of specific details, it is difficult to enumerate the rights and duties of village-officers and the *mahattaras*. The village assemblies were probably advisory bodies chiefly entrusted with the economic and social well-being of the residents.

Eighteen Prakṛtis: The Lakshmeśvar epigraph also mentions the eighteen *Prakṛtis* along with *mahājanas* and *nagara*. Due to its mutilated condition, it is not possible to work out the exact meaning and context of the term. Etymologically, the word *prakṛti* means the nature of one person towards another, habit or mode of behaviour.[264] In the context of state, it means the eighteen constituents of the state. Kauṭilya has used this term in the official sense of eighteen tirthas—ministers.[265] The *Mahābhārata*, the *Pañchatantra* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refer to this term in the same sense.[266] Occasionally, it refers to the *ashṭā-daśa pradhāna*.[267] Sometimes *prakṛti* also means the subject. But all these meanings are not suitable in the present context of the term because *yuvarāja* Vikramāditya II had granted a constitution in favour of *mahājanas*, *nagara* and eighteen prakṛtis.[268]

The division of population into eighteen classes is also known to us. *Ashtā-daśa jātis* and *eighteen samayas* are also

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referred to in the records.[269] On the basis of above details, Barnett equates the term *prakṛti* with the class of people.[270] It may be proposed that the *prakṛtis* connoted guilds or *śreṇīs* forming separate vocational guilds. They have been associated with the administration from the period of the *jātakas*. The present record, therefore, suggests that along with the *Paṇḍis* and *Seṭṭis*, the eighteen *Śreshṭhis* or leaders of guilds actively participated, though in an advisory capacity as non-official members in local administration.

Administrative Officials

The administration of the vast empire was carried on with the help of various officials who were in charge of different administrative units of the Chālukyan realm. The royal officials in general were known as *rājapurshar* or *rājapurusha*. A few officials figured among the informants of the Chālukyan grants, while some are mentioned as drafters, writers or messengers of the royal commands. The Satara Grant of Vishṇuvardhana is addressed to *Vishayapati*, *Sāmanta*, *grāmabhogika* and *mahattara*[271] while the informants of the Manor Plates include *vishayapatis*, *bhogikas*, *rāshṭra*, *grāmakūṭa*, *deśallikas* and *mahattaras*.[272] It was drafted by Bhaṭṭa Rudranāga, who was *divirapati*, *akshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta* and *mahāsāndhivigrahādhyaksha*.[273] The Navsāri plates of Śryāśraya Śilāditya add *vāsavaka*, *āyukta* and *viniyukta* in the list of the Chālukyan administrative officials.[274] A few epigraphs refer to *balādhikṛta* or *mahābalādhikṛta*, *dūtaka*, *gāmuṇḍa* (*gāvuṇḍa*), *lekhaka* and *karaṇas*.[275] The grants specially mention that gifted property should not be visited by *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*.[276] The Bagumarā and Kasare Plates of Allaśakti refer to *daṇḍapāśikas*, *gāmāgamikas* and *chaurādhikaraṇas*.[277] An officialnamed *bhogapati* figures in the Navsārī grant.[278] Goa Grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman calls him the *adhipati* of four *Vishayamaṇḍalas* and refers to an official named *durgapati* who had drafted the grant.[279] The Lakshmeśvar Inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II refers to an official named *deśādhipatigaḷa* probably corresponding to Sanskrit *deśādhipati*.[280]

Divirapati: The Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa refer to this high officer of the Chālukyas.[281] Bhaṭṭa

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Rudranāga, who had drafted the grant, was holding the offices of *divirapati*, *akshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta* and *mahāsāndhivigrahādhyaksha*. He is further styled as *niravadya parameśvara*.[282] This official is also referred to in the inscriptions of the Maitrakas.[283] As the name suggests, he was the head of *diviras* (clerks).[284] According to Kṛishnadeva, *divirapati* means the chief of the secretariat.[285] Since Rudranāga was also holding the high offices of the minister for peace and war and revenue minister, it seems probable that this post was equivalent to the post of the present Chief Secretary.

Akshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta: This official was fairly well-known in ancient India. He figures in the Gupta inscriptions and is also mentioned with the high appellation of *mahā* in the records of the rulers of the Deccan.[286] His functions are not uniformly defined. According to Kauṭilya, he was in charge of the accounts department.[287] While editing the Gupta inscriptions, Fleet considered him to be the chief record-keeper[288] but the term assigned to the keeper of records was *pustapāla* and Altekar, therefore, presumed that he was the assistant record-keeper.[289] According to Mirashi *mahākshapaṭalika* was the head of the Records Department.[290] This official is also associated with the drafting of the inscriptions of Harsha.[291] Incidentally, Bāṇa refers to *grāmākshapaṭalika* or the village notary in his *Harsha-Charita*, signifying that this official was associated at different levels of administration.[292]

As regards the higher appellation of *mahākshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta*, which occurs in the inscriptions, Dr. Puri opines that the *mahākshapaṭalika*, despite the higher appellation, should be no more than a chief accounts officer dealing with financial matters and figures.[293] It may, therefore, be suggested that this official both at the lower and the higher levels was connected with records and accounts. In the Chālukyan administration, this official seems to have been comparatively elevated, although one is not certain about it. The Manor Plate Inscription of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa confers on him two additional titles—*sāndhivigrahikādhyaksha* and *divirapati*.[294] It is presumed by Krishnadeva, who edited the record, that he was the revenue minister.[295] This may be confirmed by the information from the Maitraka records calling this official *mahāsāndhivigrahakaraṇapaṭalādhipati*.[296] Thus Krishnadeva's

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assumption stands corroborated about this officer who was in charge of accounts and records and could rise to a higher position in the Chālukyan administrative hierarchy.

Deśādhipati: The Lakshmeśvar Inscription of Prince Vikramāditya II refers to this official.[297] He was probably the administrative officer of the territorial unit called *deśa*.[298] His functions are nowhere recorded but the Lakshmeśvar Inscription mentions that periodical taxes were to be paid to the *deśādhipati*.[299] However, Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman is mentioned as the *adhipati* or head of the four *vishayamaṇḍalas*.[300] The *Deśādhipati* was also in charge of collection of revenue in the provinces which also included the local areas. He might have been in charge of law and order in his area as well.

Deśillakas: Among the informants of the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, we are introduced to a so far unknown official named *deśillaka*.[301] He figures in the record along with *rāshṭrakūṭa*, *grāmakūṭa* and *mahattaras*. Krishnadeva thinks that this hitherto unknown functionary *deśillaka* appears to be connected with the administration of *deśa*, a district or a subdivision.[302] Unless new evidence comes to light, nothing definite can be said about this official, although it is quite likely that this term is synonymous with *deśādhipati* (*desādhigārigal* of the Kannada records).

Vishayapati: The Satara, Manor, Navsārī and few other inscriptions of the Chālukyas speak of this official.[303] He is mentioned in the list of officials to whom the royal grants were conveyed. He was the head of the administrative unit *Vishaya*. In the records he figures along with officials like *bhogika*, *grāmabhogika* and *rāshṭragrāmakūṭa*.[304] The Chālukyan epigraphs are silent about his duties. Most probably he was charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order, collecting royal taxes and realising revenue on behalf of the state. His jurisdiction was limited to the *vishaya*. It seems that he was assisted in his duties by a few subordinate officials. He corresponds to the present-day district officer. This official figures in the epigraphs of the Guptas and the later dynasties of the North and the Deccan.[305] According to Sastri, *vishayapatis* are called *deśādhigārigal* in the Kannada language.[306] As head of the local unit, the *vishayapati* probably

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represented the central authority over the area under his control.

Bhogika: The Lohner Plates of Pulakeśin II, the Nasik Plates of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha and the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa refer to this official.[307] Among the informants of the Chālukyan royal grants, we also notice an official named *grāmabhogika*.[308] He is equated with the chief of villages.[309] The meaning is in accordance with the term *grāmabhogika*, although *bhogika* seems to be higher in status than the village chief.[310] The term *bhogika* stands for the technical official connected with a territorial division called *bhoga*.[311] Sometimes the same official is referred to as *bhogapati*.[312] It seems that he administered the area corresponding to the taluka in the Deccan. Some records also refer to a tax named *bhoga*.[313] The official assigned with the task of realising it may also be called *bhogika*. Nothing can definitely be said about his administrative functions, but his duties certainly included writing or engraving royal charters.

Rāshṭrakūṭa: Incidentally, this term meaning the head of a *rāshṭra* or kingdom occurs only once separately[314] but it is generally associated with the village chief in the records; probably it suggests its lower status in the administrative hierarchy.[315] The term *Rāshṭrakūṭa* has a long history[316] and the official holding this title was an important personality. According to Fleet, *Rāshṭrakūṭa* means the head of a *rāshṭra* or a *vishaya* or a province.[317] In the Chālukyan records, this term always occurs along with *grāmakūṭas*, i.e., village officials. So he does not appear to be a high official. In the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, the *rāshṭra* denotes a district, as villages are said to be situated in the *rāshṭra*.[318] So it appears that the official named *rāshṭrakūṭa* was the administrator of the unit known as *rāshṭra*.

Grāmakūṭa: Among the informants of the royal grant, *grāmakūṭa* is also mentioned. As the word suggests, he was an official related to the administration of a *grāma*, i.e., a village. Ghoshal takes it as a village headman.[319] He was probably the chief of bigger villages. The records immediately refer to the *mahattaras*[320] in the royal charters, so they seem to be village officials probably serving as an administrative link between *bhogika* and *mahattaras*, i.e., the elders of the village.

Gāmuṇḍas: This official is referred to in two Āḍur Ins-

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criptions and the Lakshmeśvar Inscription of the heir-apparent Vikramāditya II.[321] He was governing the lowest unit of the Chālukyan administrative set-up. This officer served as the emperor's representative in the village and worked as a link between the village assembly and royal officials. He being the village officer was probably responsible for law and order in the village. The *gāvuṇḍas* or *gāmuṇḍas* were appointed by the king's government to restrict the power of the *mahājanas* for exercising control over them. Nothing can, however, definitely be said about their routine functions.

Grāmabhogika: In the Satara Grant of Vishṇuvardhana *grāmabhogikas* are included among the informants of the royal grant bestowed by Vishṇuvardhana.[322] As the name suggests, he was the village official. The lexicons describe him as the "Chief of the Village". Probably he was lower in rank than the *bhogika* or *bhogapati*. He could be identified with *gāmuṇḍa* (the village officer) mentioned in the Āḍur Inscription,[323] but this surmise is doubtful.

Karaṇas: The Āḍur Inscription mentions the *karaṇas*, who had joined the *gāmuṇḍas* to request to *Mādhavavattiarasa* to secure the latter's permission for the grant of some land to the temple of Jinendra.[324] *Karaṇa* also means clerk or village accountant.[325] The *karaṇas*, as mentioned in an inscription from the South, were assigned the main task of looking after state funds.[326] The expenditure and revenue of the local bodies were looked after by them under the Chālukyas.

Balādhikṛta or Mahābalādhikṛta: The Surat Plates of Śryāśraya Śilāditya and Navsārī Plates of Pulakeśirāja refer to this official.[327] The Navsārī Plates describe that the grant was written by *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Bappabhaṭṭi*, who was also holding the office of *Mahābalādhikṛta*.[328] In the Surat Plates, two *Balādhikṛtas* named Ammagopa and Chella are referred to but the latter is also described as a *dūtaka*.[329] This officer figures in several records and in literature.[330] He is generally equated with Chief Commander. Dr. Puri suggests that he was an officer attached to the secretariat for handling the military department.[331] The place of occurrence in the Chālukyan records suggests that he was an army officer also assigned with a few civil jobs in the administration.

Dūtaka: This official is usually equated with messenger or

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ambassador, entrusted with conveyance of the royal grants in a few Chālukyan epigraphs.[332] Generally, *mahābalādhikṛta, balādhikṛta* or *sāndhivigrahika* is assigned the job of a *dūtaka.* This association suggests the importance and status of this office. As regards his duties, Fleet remarks that the *dūtaka's* office was to carry not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it was then to have the charter drawn up and delivered.[333]

Durgapati: The Goa Grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman refers to Vijayarāja who is described as *Durgapati.*[334] It means the officer-in-charge of the fort. The Chālukyan epigraphs speak about a few forts and mention the fortification of the capital city of Badami.[335] Probably he was identical with *Koṭṭapāla* of the inscriptions.[336] These forts were the strongholds of the Chālukyan army and the *durgapati* was entrusted with the responsibility of administration of a *durga* or fort. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to say whether he was appointed by the crown or by the provincial chiefs. There is also nothing definite about his responsibilities and functions.

Daṇḍapāśika: The Kasare Plates of Allaśakti, a feudatory of the Chālukyas, notice this official[337] but he is not mentioned in the official Chālukyan records. Several inscriptions of the North Indian royal dynasties also refer to this official.[338] As the prefix *daṇḍa* suggests, he was an official who dealt with crime and punishment. So it seems that this official looked after the apprehension of criminals and punishing them.

Chaurādhikaraṇa: In the above referred Plates of Allaśakti, an official named *Chaurādhikaraṇa* also figures in the list of informants of the charter.[339] The same official is also mentioned in the records of the Gupta kings and other North Indian rulers.[340] He was probably an officer of the criminal investigation department appointed to apprehend culprits and produce them before the law courts. However, nothing can be stated definitely about his functions and duties.

Chāṭas and Bhaṭas: Several Chālukyan grants mention these officials and record that gifted property should not be visited by the *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas.*[341] A *bhaṭa* means a soldier and a *chāṭa* probably means policeman. Some scholars regard them as

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signifying armed troops, while others equate them with regular and irregular soldiers.[342] Probably the *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* were the policemen working under the supervision of police officials like *daṇḍapāśikas* and *chaurādhikaraṇas*. They were ordinary members of the police force. Their duties included keeping watch over habitual criminals and apprehending them.

Vāsavaka: The Navsārī Plates of Avanījanāśraya Pulakeśi-rāja include this official among the informants of the grant.[343] The Kaira Plates of Vijayarāja also refer to an officer named *vāsapaka*.[344] According to Mirashi, he was apparently an officer whose duty was to arrange for the residence of the touring official and strangers.[345] Nothing can be said definitely about his other functions.

Viniyuktaka: The *Viniyuktaka* or *āyuktaka* literally means appointed by the king. These officials also figure in the inscriptions of the Gupta and other North Indian dynasties.[346] In the Chālukyan epigraphs, these figure in reference to court announcing the *ratnas* received by the king.[347] *Āyukta* also figures among the informants of the grant.[348] So he seems to be a subordinate officer either attached to the court or the revenue department.

Gāmāgamika: The Kasare Grant[349] of Allaśakti refers to this officer among the informants of the royal grant. According to Mirashi, he superintended the egress and ingress of travellers and was the inspector of passports.[350] He appears to be the same official whom Kauṭilya calls *muḍrādhyaksha*.[351]

Judicial Administration

The Chālukyan king as usual was the supreme court of justice. He was most fitted to the task, being well-versed in the *smṛtis* and *dharmaśāstras*.[352] He seems to have been assisted by the administrative officials. This does not mean that there were no law courts below him. He was the highest appellate court in civil matters and could equally take cognizance of complaints of a criminal nature. Besides the court at the centre, there were also probably the lower courts for administering justice in several units of administration, known as *bhoga*, *vishaya*, *rāshṭra* and *deśa*. Probably their heads served as highest judicial authority in their respective domains.

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An inscription belonging to a Chālukyan feudatory refers to the commitment of offences and punishment prescribed for them.[353] There were elders in the village and towns whose help and assistance was sought in these matters.[354] They seem to have been associated with the village pañchāyats or people's courts. The Chālukyan records, however, refer to some police officials and prescribe fines for certain crimes.[355] This could be possible only through some legal agency which naturally must have been the court of justice, where the criminals were brought by police officials for purposes of trial.

Crime and Punishment

The purpose of these trials and punishment was both deterrent and retributive to prevent further commitment of crime by the same person and to reform him into a good citizen. It was necessary in this context to have some regulated code of procedure on which the inscriptions are silent. The Chālukyan records refer to fines imposed for commission of certain crimes. The Lakshmeśvar Inscription of Vikramāditya II refers to fines for theft and other minor offences numbering ten.[356] It is not certain if the money so realised was paid into the royal treasury or to some local guilds. The same fact could be traced in the Añjanerī Plates of Bhogaśakti, a feudatory of the Chālukyas.[357] It also refers to a fine of 108 *rūpakas* for violence against an unmarried woman and 80 *rūpakas* for adultery and 16 for grievous hurt and 4 *rūpakas* for minor head injury.[358] It is interesting to find the rule of law prevalent in the administration of justice. Thus, an affluent merchant having illegal relations with a labour woman was fined as highly as 108 *rūpakas* or whatever was fixed by eight or sixteen *mahallakas* of the town.[359]

A few records discovered at Paṭṭaḍakal reveal that offenders were punished with ex-communication and loss of caste and the forfeiture of the property of the accused.[360] There could be certain exceptions for skilful persons who were outcast, who could as well be readmitted into the original caste.[361] Hiuen-Tsang, referring to the soldiers, says, if one of the champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him.[362] It indirectly makes it evident that murder was

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punishable with capital punishment but immunity was granted to soldiers. A Badami Inscription refers to the penalty for breach of contract. It is narrated that two-thousand-membered *mahāchaturavidyā samudāya* of Vāṭāpi had remitted the spoils of the cobblers of the place in favour of Nidiyamara.[363] A breach of this order is threatened with penalty.[364] This is what we could gather from the records about a few crimes and penalties prescribed for them. Significantly enough, the dynastic records do not mention anything about the apprehension of criminals and the procedure by which culprits and defaulters were charged and finally punished.

Inter-State Relations

In ancient times, the country was divided into a number of states and these occasionally clashed with one another for supremacy. The ancient political thinkers in this context propounded the *maṇḍala* theory for regulating the relations between the neighbouring and distant states with a view to maintaining some sort of a balance of power in the country. This theory ordains that two neighbouring states are natural enemies of each other, whereas the states on either side of the enemy state are natural friends.[365] The truth of this maxim is noticed in the history of the Chālukyas as well. The relations between the Chālukyas and their immediate neighbours, both to the North and the South, were usually hostile. But they tried to maintain friendly relations with distant powers like Iran, Siṁhala and China and the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas in the South.

The Chālukyas as such were not living in isolation. They had evolved a foreign policy in their relationship with their neighbours. This is evident from the reference to the minister for peace and war in every important decision taken by the crown.[366] Such a policy was calculated to take the administration into confidence and also to deprive the enemy of any support which he could expect against the native ruler. An instance of this policy might be traced in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Chālukyan ruler Pulakeśin II and his Persian contemporary against Harsha of the North.[367] This incident is confirmed by the writings of the Persian historian

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Tabarī, who mentions that in the 35th year of the reign of Khusru Perviz II (A.D. 625-26), an Indian king '*Pharmish*' or '*Parameśa*' sent an ambassador carrying letters and presents to the monarch and his sons.[368] The return embassy to the Chālukyan court is probably depicted in Ajantā Cave No. 1. The envoy might have taken the sea-route to avoid going through the kingdom of Harsha. This event, according to Saletore, might be dated in the year A.D. 626.[369]

We come across statements in the Chālukyan records that Vinayāditya extracted tributes from the rulers of Kamera (or Kavera), Pārasīka and Siṁhala.[370] It is quite possible that the Ceylonese princes might have received some sort of help from the Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas, with the acknowledgement and support of the Chālukyas.[371] We can presume that Vinayāditya might have intervened in the affairs of Ceylon.[372] It is possible, as suggested by Saletore, that it involved indirect suzerainty of the Chālukyas over Ceylon during this period.[373] The reference to the levying of tribute by king Vinayāditya from the island-dwellers called Pārasīkas and Ceylon points to the oceanic enterprise of that monarch, and hints towards the continuity of the relations between the peoples of India and Persia.[374] Saletore proposes that Kamera is to be understood as the Kannada rendering of Khmer, a part of Cambodia in Indo-China.[375] He also proposes that after subduing a lord of Uttarāpatha, Vinayāditya might have gone to Cambodia by the sea-route. But in the absence of definite evidence at our disposal, the conquest of such a distant kingdom is not free from doubt. He conjectures that it is not unlikely that Vinayāditya might have sent an embassy to China through Funān or Cambodia.[376]

Ma-Twan-Lin refers to an Indian ruler named Tche-Leou-K'I-Pa-Lo (Chi-lu-khi-pa-lo), who had sent an ambassador to the court of the Chinese emperor Kao-Tsung.[377] Chavannes identified this Indian king with the Chālukya Vallabha[378] and assigned A.D. 692 as the date of the embassy from Western India. This falls in the reign of Vinayāditya and this provides an interesting detail about the political and cultural contacts between the Chālukyas and the external powers.[379] It therefore suggests that Vinayāditya maintained diplomatic relations with the rulers of China. Another point worth mentioning in this context is the role of matrimonial relations in cementing diplomatic ties. The

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Chālukyas strove in this direction with zeal and earnestness. In fact, it might be quoted here as, for example, the Honnur Copper Plates of Vikramāditya I inform us that the daughter of Vikramāditya's elder brother Raṇarāgavarman was married to a Kadamba prince,[380] thus establishing closer ties with a Southern power. Other instances are those of Pulakeśin I who had married a Batpura princess named Durlabhadevī.[381] Kīrttivarman I's spouse was a Sendraka princess.[382] The queens of Vikramāditya II named Lokamahādevī and Trailokya-mahādevī belonged to the Haihaya family.[383] These relations were always helpful in times of need, as we find king Durvinīta of the Gaṅga family helping Vikramāditya I[384] in restoring the fallen fortunes of the Chālukyas.

Besides establishing matrimonial relations, the Chālukyas were equally particular in making friends with contemporary powers for political gains. According to the Aihole *Praśasti*, Pulakeśin II crossed the Kāverī after defeating the Pallavas, entered into friendly relations with the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas to contain the influence of the Pallavas.[385] Geographical factors, however, were not helpful in this regard, as we find the Chālukyas losing their established ground. The Chālukyas also seem to have resorted to espionage both in their domain and in the territories of the enemies to gain useful information. The inscriptions of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī provide considerable information on this point,[386] but there is nothing definite in the absence of information from the Chālukyan records.

NOTES

1. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f; *ARSIE*, 1933-34, p. 119; *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 119.
2. *Manusmṛti*, Canto IX, v. 294; *HD*, Vol. III, pp. 17-21; *MCA*, pp. 135-39.
3. *HD*, Vol. III, pp. 20-21; *MCA*, pp. 137-38; *SIP*, p. 18.
4. *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38; *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 322f; *SIP*, p. 32; *HSI*, p. 168; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 233; *HIA*, p.209.
5. *MCS*, p. 140; *HD*, Vol. III, pp. 23-25.
6. *SIP*, p. 17; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 233; *HSI*, p. 167; *HIA*, p. 209.
7. *HSI*, p. 167; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 233; *HIA*, p. 209.
8. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 233; *HSI*, p. 168, *HIA*, p. 209.
9. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f.
10. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. VII, p. 9, v. 14; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 209 and 211; *HSI*, p. 168; *CA*, p. 234; *DKD*, p. 346, note 4.

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11. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 77; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 233.
12. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9, verses 14-15.
13. *DKD*, p. 361; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220; *CA*, p. 241.
14. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f, Vol. VIII, p. 44f.
15. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 225; *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 213; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 144, Vol. VII, p. 163; *Śodhapatrikā*, Vol. 22, pp. 36-44.
16. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *HSI*, p. 149.
17. The inscriptions of Vikramāditya I and his successors point out the association of the heir-apparent in the day-to-day administration, indicating the convention of nominating the heir-apparent. *EI*, Vol. I, XIV, p. 188f; *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 132f, Vol. X, p. 165f.
18. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 72f; *SIP*, pp. 38-40.
19. *SIP*, pp. 40-41.
20. *ARSIE*, 1933-34, p. 4.
21. The Rāshṭrakūṭa records also refer to this ceremony as *paṭṭada* or *paṭṭabandha*. The celebrated temple city of the Chālukyas, namely, Paṭṭaḍakal, is identified with Kisuvolal mentioned in the Chālukyan records (*IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 7f, Vol. VII, p. 217f). Some inscriptions refer to it as Paṭṭaḍa Kisuvolal, indicating that it was associated with the coronation of the Chālukyan rulers. The literal meaning of the word is "Coronation Stones" (*Karnataka Darshana*, p. 26). The term probably signifies the stone palace or stone throne, where the coronation ceremony was performed. A later record describes this city of the Chālukyas related to their coronation (*Karnataka Darshana*, p. 353). In the light of above information, it can be suggested that during the occupation of the Chālukyan metropolis by the Pallavas, the sons of Pulakeśin II were probably coronated at Paṭṭaḍakal and thus this city became important for the Chālukyas, though quite near Badami, their capital.
22. *IA*, Vol. III, pp. 305-306, Vol. X, pp. 57-60.
23. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 225f.
24. सकल भुवन साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी स्वयवराभिषेकं समयानन्तर समुपजातमहोत्सवः, Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
25. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f, Vol. VIII, p. 44f.
26. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *EI*, Vol. VI, p 9.
27. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 209; *CA*, p. 233; *HSI*, p. 148; *EHDB*, pp. 58-59.
28. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9.
29. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f.
30. Ibid.
31. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f.
32. Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 163f, Vol. VIII, p. 44f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. II, p. 211.
33. *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38.
34. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f, Vol. VIII, p. 44f; *Śodhapatrikā*, Vol. XXII, pp. 40-42; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 219-20; *CA*, p. 242.
35. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9.
36. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 45; *SIP*, pp. 13-14; *MCS*, pp. 138-44.
37. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 146f; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p.62f.

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38. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200.
39. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 363f, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f.
40. Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 19, 303; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 36.
41. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 72f, Vol. XIX, p. 19; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 209f.
42. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 19, 303f; *EI*, Vol. V, p. 200.
43. Ibid., p. 19.
44. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 19, 303f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 44 and 63; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 40f; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62; *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f. अग्निष्टोमवाजपेय पौंडरीक बहुसुवर्णाश्वमेधावभृथ-स्नान पवित्री कृत शरीरस्य ।
45. *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
46. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.
47. सुकृतानां स्मर्ता दुष्कृतानां विस्मर्ता:, *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 36.
48. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
49. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 125f.
50. परदार निवृत्तचित्तवृत्तैरपि धीर्यस्य, *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 4.
51. *Life*, p. 146; *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239f.
52. स विजयतां रविकीर्त्ति: कविताश्रित कालिदास भारवि, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 7 and 11.
53. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 166f, 167f, 162-64, 64, 65, 168-69.
54. *VSMV*, 1966, pp. 33-34; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313f; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 125f.
55. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. II, p. 203f.
56. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
57. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 363f.
58. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 19.
59. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257f; *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f.
60. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 72f.
61. Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 209f; *JRAS*, Vol. V, p. 343f.
62. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
63. *EHB*, Vol. I, p. 224; *CA*, pp. 243-44.
64. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
65. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 117f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f.
66. Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
67. *CA*, pp. 243-44; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 224.
68. *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90.
69. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200 f.
70. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 4f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f; *SI*, p. 482.
71. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f, Vol. XIX, p 19; *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348.
72. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 72; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 44; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f; *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 33.
73. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f; *ASWI*, Vol. II, p. 15; *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 213f.
74. *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 330f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 44.
75. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 44.
76. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 11f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
77. *DKD*, p. 23, no. 6; *Dharwar Gazetteer* (Revised), pp. 59-60; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 209; *JRAS*, Vol. V, p. 343f.
78. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
79. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 123f.
80. *HSI*, p. 167.

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81. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59.
82. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
83. Ibid., Vol. X, p. 57f, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
84. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100, Vol. XXVII, p. 115f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 75f
85. *SMHD*, Vol. III, p. 53f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 75f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 5.
86. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 63; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 94, Vol. XIX, p. 142f; *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38.
87. *VSMV*, 1966, p. 34; *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 311.
88. *ARSIE*, 1934-35, pp. 7 and 57.
89. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f, Vol. XIX, p. 62; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 209.
90. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 10; *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 240.
91. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 195f.
92. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f, Vol. XIV, p. 330f.
93. *HSI*, p. 167.
94. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50; *CPIAPGM* Vol. I, p. 36.
95. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19, p. 303f, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 6.
96. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 62; *SIP*, p. 21f.
97. Ibid., pp. 56-62; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.
98. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59.
99. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f, p. 59f; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f, Vol. VII, p. 161f; *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 293.
100. *VSMV*, 1966, p. 35; *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 322, note 2, Vol. XXV, p. 289f.
101. *SIP*, pp. 23-24; *HSI*, p. 163.
102. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f, Vol. VII, p. 209.
103. *JRAS*, Vol. V, p. 343f.
104. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
105. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f; *HSI*, p. 167.
106. *HSI*, pp. 166-67; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 234-35.
107. *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 53; *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30; *SII*, Vol. X, p. 9, Vol. IX, p. 27.
108. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 117f, Vol. VIII, p. 229f, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
109. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 146; *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 255f.
110. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257f.
111. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 40f.
112. This record refers to the king in court receiving presents from the feudatories (*KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f). This is corroborated by a few fragmentary scenes in the Vaishṇava Cave at Badami. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 393; *JRAS*, Vol. XI, pp. 167-68.
113. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
114. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
115. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *ARSIE*, 1934-35, pp. 7 and 57; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f; *MASR*, 1939, p. 129; *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
116. *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
117. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f.
118. *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 125f
119. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f, Vol. X, p. 57f, Vol. VI, p. 363, Vol. XIX, p. 19; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f; *JRAS*, Vol. V, p. 343f; *EI*, Vol. V, p. 200f, Vol. IX, p. 200f.

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120. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 219; *CA*, p. 240; *HSI*, p. 151.
121. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f; *SMHD*, Vol. III, p. 53f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 47 and 53.
122. *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 164f.
123. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f, Vol. XIX, p. 19; *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
124. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 40f.
125. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f.
126. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 234; *HSI*, p. 167.
127. Vishṇuvardhana and Jayasiṁha, brothers of Pulakeśin II and Vikramāditya I, were ruling as their governors over Poona and Nasik regions, respectively. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.
128. Probably Maṅgaleśa and Vikramāditya I acted as commanders during the reign of Kīrttivarman I and the regency of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, respectively. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f; *Śodhapatrikā*, Vol. XXII, p. 42.
129. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 9; *EIH*, Vol. I, p. 217.
130. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 40f; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 123f, 127f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
131. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 215; *EI*, Vol. XXX, p. 12f; *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 53; *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90.
132. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 19-20; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 37; *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 289; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 2f; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f; *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 162-69.
133. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 317f, Vol. XXXV, p. 121f; *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 162-69.
134. Fleet, *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f. The Vākāṭakas who were predecessors of the Chālukyas in the Deccan had also a regency system, as evidenced by the Poona Copper Plates of Prabhāvatīguptā.
135. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 163f, Vol. VIII, p. 44f.
136. *ARSIE*, 1926-27, p. 10.
137. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 235.
138. *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 289f.
139. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 60f.
140. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 53.
141. *ARSIE*, 1934-35, pp. 7 and 57.
142. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 317f.
143. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 162-69; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f; *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32.
144. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 162f.
145. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 164-65.
146. Ibid., p. 166.
147. *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f.
148. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f.
149. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 104; *MCS*, pp. 144-48.
150. *EHD*, Vol. II, p. 498.
151. *SIP*, p. 106.
152. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 234.
153. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 58f, *VSMV*, 1966, p. 36; *EI*, XXVII, p. 125f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
154. *HD*, Vol. III, pp. 106-7; *SIP*, p. 108.
155. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 106f; *SIP*, p. 102.
156. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59. The term *Brāhmaṇa* has been used in the sense of a minister by Manu. Thus *Mahābrāhmaṇa*

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may be equated with the Prime Minister. *Manusmṛti*, Canto I, verse 87.

157. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59.
158. *HIA*, Vol. I, pp. 210-11; *HD*, Vol. III, pp. 107-8.
159. *MCS*, pp. 144-49; *SIP*, pp. 123-26.
160. *MCS*, pp. 160-62; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 388-89; *SIP*, p. 115; *HD*, Vol. III, p. 1006; *HIA*, Vol. I, p. 210.
161. *MCS*, p. 161.
162. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59.
163. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 105f.
164. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 127f, 132f, 110f.
165. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 359f.
166. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f, Vol. XIX, p. 62; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 209.
167. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 10; *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 240.
168. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f; *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 425; *SMHD*, Vol. II, p. 23f; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 200f; *JBISM*, Vol. IX, p. 12f.
169. *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 425f; *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 322f.
170. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
171. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f.
172. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 100f.
173. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 63.
174. *JBISM*, Vol. IX, p. 1f.
175. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125f.
176. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
177. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 19.
178. *IEG*, pp. 14-15 and 99.
179. मध्यवर्तिदेशाधीश्वरेशक्ति त्रय प्रवर्द्धितप्राज्यसाम्राज्ये, *JRAS*, Vol. V, p. 343; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 209; *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 218.
180. चक्कुसागर-पर्यन्तावनि-विजय-मंगलैकागार, *IA*, Vol. III, p. 305; Ibid., Vol. X, p. 57.
181. परराष्ट्रावमर्दी स्वराष्ट्रे न्यायानुवर्त्ती, *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161.
182. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, verse 25.
183. *EI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 313; *NUJ*, Vol. XVII, p. 143; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 45.
184. *CII*, Vol. IV, Intro., p. CXXXIII.
185. *VA*, p. 359; *HD*, Vol. III, p. 132.
186. *PHAI*, pp. 289-90; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 45; *IEG*, p. 277.
187. स्वाभ्यमात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं कोष दण्डौ सुहृत्तथा।
सप्त प्रकृतयो ह्येता: सप्तांग राज्यमुच्यते ।।
Manu, IX, v. 294.
188. *Amarakosha*, Kāṇḍa II, Varga 1, v. 8, Kāṇḍa II, Varga III, v. 185.
189. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 194.
190. स्वराष्ट्रे न्यायानुवर्ती, *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161.
191. *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 146; *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 225f.
192. अगमदधिपतित्वं यां महाराष्ट्र-काणां नव नवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणां ।। *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10.
193. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 255; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
194. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 259; *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f.
195. *JBBRAS*, Vol. II, pp. 4 and 12; Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 16-28; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 123-25.
196. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 146.
197. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 313; *VSMV*, 1966, p. 28; *NUJ*, Vol. XVII, p. 143.

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198. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 366; *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 313f.
199. *SIP*, p. 18.
200. *CII*, Vol. V, Intro., p. CXXXII.
201. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 45.
202. *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 255; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 154.
203. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
204. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62f.
205. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9.
206. Ibid., pp. 8-9 and 31.
207. *SIP*, pp. 302-03.
208. *IEG*, p. 208.
209. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
210. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91.
211. Ch. I, 27; *HGP*, p. 107.
212. *HGP*, p. 107; *IEG*, pp. 194-95.
213. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 45; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 104.
214. *HGP*, pp. 106-107; *IEG*, pp. 277 and 377.
215. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 151; *JBBRAS*, Vol. II, p. 4f; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 123f.
216. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 237.
217. पलयट्ठाण विषये सा (१) तिमालभोगे नीरानद्युत्तरतटस्थ कलहटठाण परञ्चिक हरिण-थिगग्रामयोर्मध्यस्थ: वीरनामग्राम: (*EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62).
218. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f, p. 132f; *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 8f.
219. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 1f (1883-85); *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 229f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 125.
220. *CII*, Vol. V, Intro., p. CXXXIV, f.n. 17.
221. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 188f.
222. *TV*, *SIP*, p. 303.
223. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 69f; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f.
224. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 405.
225. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 69f; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f.
226. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8.
227. वातापीन्नगरीम्प्रविश्य नगरी-मेकाभिवोर्व्वीमिमाम् ।
चञ्चन्नीरधि नील नीरपरिरव सत्याश्रये शासति ।।
EI, Vol. VI, p. 9, v. 16.
वरदातुंगतरंगविलसदहंसावली-मेखला
वनवासी मवमृद्नतस्सुरपुर प्रस्प-द्धिनीं सम्पदाम् ।
EI, Vol. VI, pp. 7-8.
228. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 40f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127ff.
229. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 146 and 154; *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348.
230. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91f; *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 317f; *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *ARIE*, 1943-44, p. 90.
231. *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f.
232. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 117f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f; *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 8f.
233. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
234. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 40f.
235. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 117f, Vol. VIII, p. 229f; *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 8f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f; *IAR*, 1962-63, p. 52.
236. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p 37f.
237. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
238. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 146f; *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 225f.
239. Ibid , Vol. IV, p. 146, p. 154f.
240. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 154f.
241. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
242. Ibid.
243. *SII*, Vol. IX, p. 27; *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 53; *EI*, Vol. XXX, p. 69f; *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9; *IA*, Vol.

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XIX, p. 303f; *ABORI*, Vol. IV, p. 43f.

244. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 103f; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f; Vol. XXII, p. 24f; *ARIE*, 1958-59, p. 57; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 151; *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91f; *JUK*, Vol. I, p. 193f; *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 231; *HIA*, p. 211.
245. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f; *EI*, Vol XIV, p. 188f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 43f; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *ARASI*, 1930-34, p. 244; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
246. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
247. Ibid., p. 188f; *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 8-9; *IA*, Vol XIX, pp. 144-45.
248. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
249. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 237, *HIA*, p. 212.
250. Ibid.
251. Ibid., p. 188f.
252. Ibid., p. 188f; *CA*, p. 353; *HIA*, p. 212; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 237.
253. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
254. Ibid.
255. Ibid.
256. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 146f; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f; *EHD*, Vol I, p. 239; *ARSIE*, 1939-43, pp. 122 and 232.
257. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 43f; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *IE*, Vol. XXI, p. 204f; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 237; *HIA*, pp. 211-12.
258. *ARSIE*, 1930-34, p. 119.
259. *SII*, Vol. IX, p. 28.
260. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
612. *CA*, p. 253.
262. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 40f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f.
263. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f; *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 69.
264. Monier Williams, p. 654.
265. *AS*, II, Canto VIII, v. 2; *HD*, Vol. III, p. 104f; *SIP*, p. 18; *MCS*, pp. 137-44; *IEG*, p. 255.
266. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 189f, note 1.
267. Ibid., note 1.
268. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 188-91.
269. Ibid., p. 189, note 1.
270. Ibid., p. 188f.
271. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
272. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
273. Ibid.
274. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f.
275. *CII*, Vol. IX, p. 132f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 34 f; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f; *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 69.
276. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
277. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f.
278. Ibid., p. 123f.
279. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348.
280. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
281. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
282. Ibid.
283. *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 180; *HIA*, p. 180.
284. *IEG*, p. 99.
285. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 19.
286. *EI*, Vol VII, p. 158; *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 304; *HIA*, pp. 120, 144, 180 and 185-86; *EHDD*, p. 207; *SIP*, p. 142.
287. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 143; *IEG*, pp. 14-15.
288. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 257.
289. *SGAI*, p. 217.
290. *CII*, Vol. IV, Intro., p. CXLI.
291. *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 210f; Bhandarkar's List Nos. 34, 361 and 433; *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 158.
292. Chap. VII, para 2; *HKT*, p. 142.
293. *HIA*, Vol. I, p. 185.
294. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.

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295. Ibid., p. 18.
296. Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 180; *HIA*, p. 180.
297. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
298 *IEG*, p. 86.
299. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 237; *CA*, pp. 353-54; *HIA*, p. 211.
300. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
301. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
302. Ibid., pp. 19 and 22.
303. *IA*, Vol XIX, p. 303f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f;
304. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
305. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 1004; *IEG*, p. 378; *HIA*, p. 136.
306. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 237.
307. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f; *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 8f.
308. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
309. *IEG*, p. 55.
310. *HD*, Vol. III, pp. 993-94; *IEG*, p. 55.
311. *BG*, Vol. I, p. 82.
312. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 298.
313. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 12.
314. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f.
315. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
316. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 249; *IEG*, p. 277.
317. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 1003.
318. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 194.
319. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, 17f.
320. *CA*, p. 353.
321. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f; *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 68f.
322. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
323. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f.
324. Ibid.
325. *IEG*, p. 145.
326. *SIP*, p. 144.
327. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132 f, p. 137f.
328. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
329. Ibid., p. 132f.
330. *HGP*, p. 111; *HD*, Vol. III, p. 999f.
331. *HGP*, p. 111; *HAI*, p. 210.
332. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f.
333. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 100, note 3.
334. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
335. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 4f.
336. *HGP*, p. 112.
337. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f.
338. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 986; *IEG*, p. 81.
339 *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f.
340. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 984; *IEG*, pp. 71-72.
341. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f; *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f.
342. *HD*, Vol. III, pp. 983 and 993; *HIA*, p. 189.
343. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
344. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 237f.
345. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 173, footnote 1.
346. *HIA*, pp. 139-40.
347. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
348. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f.
349. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f.
350. Ibid., p. 116.
351. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 982.
352. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 161f.
353. Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 225f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 154f.
354. Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 188f; ibid., Vol. IV, p. 154f.
355. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110. Several Chālukyan grants refer to the chāṭas and bhaṭas who are refrained from visiting the gifted property. The chāṭas and bhaṭas are equated with police personnel. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 983; *HIA*, p. 212; *IEG*, p. 67.
356. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
357. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 154f; *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 225f.
358. Ibid.
359. Ibid.
360. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 164f.

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361. Ibid., p. 162f.
362. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256.
363. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 8f.
364. Ibid.
365. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 219.
366. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 231f; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 14f, etc.
367. *FNSI*, p. 9; *HSI*, p. 150; *DKD*, p. 352; *JRAS* (NS), Vol. XI, p. 165f; *DKD*, p 352; *FNSI*, p. 9; *HSI*, p. 150; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 217; *CA*, p. 240.
368. *Ajantā*, Vol. I, pp. 44-49; *JRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 165; *IDRWE*, p. 174.
369. *Indian Architecture*, p. 69; *IDRWE*, p. 178.
370. *VSMV*, 1966, p. 33; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 225; *CA*, p. 245.
371. *CA*, p. 245, note 3; *IDRWE*, pp. 199-201.
372. *IDRE*, p. 199; *CA*, p. 245, note 3.
373. Ibid., p. 199.
374. Ibid., pp. 199-200.
375. Ibid., p. 200.
376. Ibid., p. 201.
377. Ibid., p. 194.
378. Ibid., pp. 197-99.
379. Ibid., pp. 197-99.
380. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f.
381. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 19-20.
382. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 50f.
383. *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f.
384. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 220.
385. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11, v. 31.
386. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 389.

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IX

Fiscal Administration

'KOŚA' is among the seven constituents of the state.[1] The success of a king depends to a great extent on treasury and revenue. Kauṭilya holds that a king with a depleted treasury will eat into the very vitality of citizens as well as the country people.[2] Emphasizing the importance of the *Kośa* or treasury, the *Mahābhārata* says that *Kośa* is the basis or main support of the remaining six constituents of the state.[3] Visualising this, the ancient political thinkers of India enjoined the kings to guard their finances with great care. The *Vishṇu-dharmottara* states that the *Kośa* is the root of the state tree.[4] So also, Yājñavalkya recommends that the king should personally look into the income and expenditure of the state.[5] Probably on account of the importance of *Kośa* for the stability of the government, the rulers were asked to keep it under their personal control.

The mainstay of the state had always been finance, based on taxation, which ancient legalists regarded as the legitimate wages of the king in return for the services rendered to the state and its administration. Taxes in general also included land revenue which formed the main source of income to the state in an agricultural country.

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Principles of Taxation

The dynastic records of the Chālukyas supply meagre information about the principles of taxation. It seems quite reasonable to presume that the state levied taxes as prescribed by the *Smṛtis*.[6] The guiding principle according to these is that taxation should not destroy the substance of the people but should leave an ample margin for their subsistence. Further, in levying taxes the state should proceed slowly and by imperceptible degrees and not at all in a lump, taking a convenient time and place for payment as well into consideration.[7] Chālukyan rulers while following these *Smṛti* principles were modest in their pronouncements, unlike a Sātavāhana monarch, who proudly says that he "never levied nor employed taxes but in conformity to justice".[8] The principle implied in it was that the taxes should be such as may not be felt by the people. The king should behave like a bee, collecting honey for its own use from flowers and plants without destroying either. In short, the king followed the principles of ancient Indian legal texts in levying taxes on various commodities.

It appears that the king had various sources of revenue but the main one was the tax on land, which belonged to the crown. The king's share of the entire produce from land was 1/6th, according to Kauṭilya.[9] Manu holds that the king should have a sixth, an eighth or a twelfth part of the *dhānya*[10] (crops). Gautama recommends that the king should be paid the tenth, eighth or sixth part of the entire produce.[11] Śukra suggests that the ruler be paid a sixth, a fourth, a third or a half share, according to the nature of the soil, rainfall and irrigation facilities.[12] Thus, it seems that *shaḍbhāga* or a sixth part of the entire yield of the soil was the original standard rate, though not strictly fixed or a universal one. The assessment differed according to the type of land, and the nature of produce. The Chālukyas seem to conform to these injunctions of the *Smṛtis*.

The land tax formed the principal source of state income, and little is known about the land settlement. We learn from the Copper Plate Grants of the dynasty that village boundaries were properly demarcated and within them were included the dwelling houses, agricultural fields, waste lands, tanks,

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channels, pastures and woodlands. The grants also specify the rights of an owner of a village or a part of land situated in a particular village. *Nivarttana*, *pannasa* and *maruttu* were popular measures of land demarcation.[13] Sometimes we hear of a royal measure or standard.[14] This indicates that land was measured in order to have an idea of the produce of the land, and rents were fixed as per assessment by the king's officials. There is, however, nothing definite as regards the details of the assessment.

Names of the Taxes

The Chālukyan records refer to several types of taxes. Some grants record remission of certain taxes on gifted land or property. An epigraph states that taxes were levied on houses and also on status basis.[15] Another Chālukyan record speaks about taxes on festivity or taxes collected for arranging some social gathering.[16] The following forms of taxes are mentioned in inscriptions.

Bhoga

Several Copper Plate Grants belonging to the reigns of Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya refer to gifting of villages along with their *bhoga* (*sabhoga*) free from all obstructions.[17] The term '*bhoga*' literally means enjoyment. Sometimes we come across an expression '*Bhāgabhoga*' or '*Bhogabhāga*' in other contemporary records of the Deccan.[18] Fleet regards these as one fiscal expression indicating enjoyment of taxes, for its literal meaning is enjoyment of shares.[19] On the authority of Manu and the *Vishṇudharmottara*, Kane also says that the word '*bhāga*' (share) is a general term implying the king's dues on land, trees, drugs, cattle and wealth.[20] Sircar takes '*bhoga*' as different from '*bhāga*' and explains it as the periodical supplies of fruits, firewood and flowers, which farmers had to supply to the king.[21] Thus, it seems that '*bhoga*' is a fixed contribution in kind, while '*bhāga*' is the contribution consisting of a share of the produce of the land.

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Kara

The Sorab Copper Plate Inscription of the time of Vinayāditya carries the expression '*Sālīvoge nāma grāmassodakaṁ sahiraṇyam karaṁ abhāṭapravesam sasarvabādha pariharodattaḥ*',[22] indicating that '*kara*' was the name of the tax. In some Chālukyan records we come across the expression '*karadīkṛta*' indicating that *kara* was the name of the tax.[23] According to lexicons, the term '*kara*' in the general sense denotes a tax.[24] But Kauṭilya and Manu have used the term as the designation of a specific tax.[25] Kane also regards it as a general term for tax.[26] Ghoshal[27] takes it to mean a periodical tax, while Shamasastry offers two explanations about it. At one place he takes it as taxes paid in money[28] and at another place as taxes or subsidies paid by feudatories and others.[29] The Chālukyan records use the term '*kara*' in the sense of tribute paid by vassals, and justify the second interpretation of Shamasastry. The Sorab Grant mentions the term '*kara*' probably in the context of general tax.

Śulka

The Añjanerī Grant of Prithivīchandra Bhogaśakti mentions *śulka* as a tax.[30] It generally means toll or custom duties levied from vendors and purchasers or merchandise carried into or out of the kingdom.[31] It is of two kinds, one was levied on goods carried by land and the other on those carried by water.[32] According to Gautama, *śulka* was 1/20th part of merchandise for sale.[33] The *Vishṇudharmottara* prescribes that the state should impose a levy of 1/10th on goods of internal production as *śulka* and 1/20th on those imported from outside.[34] Kauṭilya refers to an officer named *śulkādhyaksha* (superintendent of tolls).[35] The *Yajñavalkyasmṛti* plainly says that '*śulka*' was levied on goods and that used to be a twentieth part of the price of the goods.[36] Thus, it seems that *śulka* corresponds to the present toll tax levied on the sale, import and export of goods.

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Uparikara

It is listed as a tax in the spurious Copper Plate Inscription of Pulakeśin I and in many other grants of the Chālukyas.[37] It occurs in the Chālukyan epigraphs along with *nidhi*, *upanidhi*, *klipta* and *udraṅga*.[38] Fleet regards it as a tax levied on cultivators having no property right in the land.[39] Ghoshal thinks it as an impost levied on temporary tenants connecting it with the Marathi term '*upri*' (cultivators originally belonging to a village).[40] Barnett equates it with the Tamil '*meḷvaram*', i.e., crown's share of produce.[41] Sircar opines that the Sanskrit '*upari*' or the Marathi '*upri*' means 'upon or extra' and takes it to mean an extra cess which was collected over and above the scheduled '*kara*'.[42] Mirashi, calling it an additional tax, suggests that it may have included the miscellaneous taxes in kind which traders and artisans had to pay.[43] This fiscal term occurs in the Chālukyan grants along with '*nidhi*', '*upanidhi*', '*klipta*' and '*udraṅga*', suggesting it to be an additional tax, corresponding to present 'surcharge' on tax-payers.

Parikara

The Navsari, Nasik, Manor and a few other Copper Plates of the Chālukyas refer to a tax named '*parikara*'.[44] Sircar identifies it with *uparikara*.[45] It seems that it was an occasional or minor tax. Sastri, however, equates '*udraṅga*' and '*parikara*' mentioned in the Navsari Grant of Śryāśraya Śilāditya with market dues and tolls.[46] Therefore, it seems more probable to accept it as a separate minor tax instead of identifying it with '*uparikara*'.

Paṅgu

The Goa Grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman records that a village named Karellikā was gifted to the *Brāhmaṇas* along with *Paṅgu*.[47] We come across a term '*paṅgu*' in certain other records of the Deccan.[48] A few epigraphs refer to its variants, viz., *paṅga*, *pāṅga* and *paṅgga*.[49] Telang, the editor of the Goa Grant, reads '*paṅgu*' instead of '*paṅga*' and interprets it as free from all lame people.[50] Desai

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explains '*paṅga*' as 'form' or 'shape' and connects it with the Kannada '*paṅgu*' meaning thereby 'obligation' or 'indebtedness'.[51] Sircar suggests that the expression '*paṅgu*' should be regarded as '*paṅga*' and equates it with the Telugu '*paṅgamu*', recognised in the sense of a tax.[52] It can also be correlated to the Tamil '*parigu*' and Malayalam '*parika*', meaning a share.[53] Its occurrence in the Goa Grant suggests that it was a tax levied on villages.

Udraṅga

In the Alṭem Copper Plate Inscription of Pulakeśin I, '*udraṅga*' finds mention as a source of state revenue.[54] The Navsari, Nasik, Manor and a few other Copper Plates of the Chālukyas mention it as a source of income.[55] Bühler equates it with '*udhāra*' and '*udagraṅtha*' and doubtfully interprets it as the share of the produce collected usually for the king.[56] Ghoshal regards it as revenue collected from permanent tenants in contradistinction to '*uparikara*' which he interprets as a similar impost levied on temporary tenants.[57] Some scholars have tried to explain it as a 'fixed tax', land tax, and also as the principal tax.[58] Sircar suggests that duties known as *udraṅga* were named after administrative units *draṅgas* and their official named '*draṅgika*'.[59] As this revenue term occurs usually along with the '*uparikara*', it seems that Ghoshal's interpretation is nearer the truth.

Klipta and Upaklipta

The dynastic grants also mention that villages were gifted along with their '*klipta*' and '*upaklipta*'.[60] Kauṭilya[61] regards '*klipta*' (a fixed tax)[62] among the seven *āyamukhas*. Ghoshal thinks that '*klipta*' is a fixed tax and '*upaklipta*' an unfixed one. Mirashi is of opinion that '*klipta*' and '*upaklipta*' correspond to '*bhoga*' and '*bhāga*' of the Śarbhapurīya Inscriptions[63] and '*udraṅga*' and '*uparikara*' of the later records, respectively. He further says that '*klipta*' means some land tax and '*upaklipta*' signifies some petty taxes in kind.[64] This interpretation, however, appears to be untenable because the Hyderabad Copper Plates of Pulakeśin II mention '*klipta*'

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along with '*uparikara*', '*nidhi*' and '*upanidhi*'.[65] It proves beyond doubt that '*klipta*' and '*upaklipta*' could be equated with neither the '*bhoga*' and '*bhāga*', nor with '*udraṅga*' and '*uparikara*'. Maity's contention that these were not taxes but merely rights of the king over the land[66] cannot be accepted as it is in direct contradiction to Kauṭilya, who regards these as sources of revenue.[67] The Moṭupallī Inscription refers to '*klipta-kara*' and '*klipta-śulka*',[68] which makes it evident that '*klipta*' and '*upaklipta*' were fixed taxes and fixed tolls.

House and Status Taxes

Under the revenue system of the Chālukyas, people had to pay taxes on houses and house-sites. The Lakshmeśvar Inscription of prince Vikramāditya II states that the residents of Lakshmeśvar who owned houses and house-sites had to pay taxes once in the year to the government officials in the month of *Vaiśākha*.[69] This epigraph further mentions that families without house properties were taxed according to their status paying 15, 10, 7 and 5 *paṇas* per annum.[70] This record seems to suggest that there was some form of income tax directly levied on the people either on their net earnings or on the basis of their status in society.

Local Taxes

There are also references to local taxes as, for instance, the Chālukyan grants from Karnul district mention '*ādityuñcha*', '*uñchamanna*' and '*marumanna*' as taxes.[71] '*Uñchha*' also occurs as a fiscal term in the Halsi and Davangere Plates.[72] We find expressions like '*uñcha-karabhārādi-vivar-jita*' in certain other inscriptions,[73] indicating that it was a tax. Sircar suggests that it may be the collection of small quantities of crops.[74] '*Uñchamanna*' was the privilege of the donee of rent-free land. The exact meaning of '*uñcha*' or '*uñchha*' is not clear but it may be a kind of local toll tax. Sastri also regards '*uñchha*' and '*marumanna*' as local levies.[75] The Kolhapur Grant of Vinayāditya states that the king had gifted away the *mannārddha* (tax) of the villages named *Endamaduvuḷa* and *Uruvige* and fifty *nivarttanas* of land by the royal standard in

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favour of Durgaśarma.[76] The Goḍachi Plates of Katti-arasa, while recording the gift of some land, make the following statement, "*Nuḷagāḷagrāmasya maṟumanna sarvajātakam, satoṭṭam-sajīrakam, sapānīyam saniveśam rājamānena pañchvimśati nivarttanaṁ kshetram*".[77] R.S. Panchmukhi suggests that *maṟumanna* means waste or dry land, taking '*maṟu*' and '*man*' corresponding to waste (dry) and land.[78] We have seen it is referred to as a tax in the Kolhapur and Karnul Grants.[79] As such, it was a local tax, the nature of which remains unexplained. *Sarvajātakam* and *satoṭṭam* have been explained as inclusive of all the produce and garden cultivation, respectively, indicating that king Katti-arasa transferred the royal right of enjoying the produce of the gift land in favour of the donee.[80] Desai takes the terms '*Jīraka*', '*Jīrnaka*' and '*Jīrna*' as synonymous and suggests that the phrase '*sajīraka*' means whatever is produced on the soil.[81] '*Sapānīyam*' may be equated with the '*udakabhāga*' of Kauṭilya[82] which implies that the donee was allowed to use water for irrigation without paying any tax. '*Saniveśam*' means deposits of land. Thus, this phrase of the Goḍachi Plates refers to many local levies.

Occasional Levies

Besides the above-mentioned taxes which contributed a major portion to the state's exchequer, there are also references to occasional levies. An inscription speaks of '*teṟe pon*' (a tribute or tax in gold), probably an occasional levy charged on every village of the Bāṇarāja *vishaya* soon after its conquest by Eṟeya (Pulakeśin II).[83] The Chālukyan epigraphs also refer to levies on festivals and social gatherings. The Lakshmeśvar Inscription of Vikramāditya II states that levies were imposed on each household for festival expenses, the highest household paying ten *paṇas*, the intermediate seven *paṇas*, the lower five and the lowest three.[84] The Balaṁgave Inscription also mentions the '*Peṟiya-osage*', i.e., festival tax.[85]

Levies in Kind

The Chālukyan dynastic records also refer to '*bali*', '*charu*' and '*vaiśya*'.[86] '*Bali*' was not only regarded as a tax but an

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important source of state income.[87] In the records of these rulers, donees are given the right to collect revenue of the land with the express object of maintaining the supply of '*bali*', '*charu*' and '*vaiśva*' in the temples.[88] Sometimes villages have been granted as free holdings for supplying the '*bali*', '*charu*' and other articles of worship like fruits, flowers and oil to the temples.[89] Hence it is definite that '*bali*' referred to in the Chālukyan grants is not a tax. Instead of it, the taxes were foregone for supplying the articles of worship in kind. There are several inscriptions belonging to the Chālukyas which directly refer to the taxes in kind. The Aihole Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya registers the gift of oil at one *soṇṭige* (ladle-ful) per oil mill to the *Bhaṭārar* of Aihole at the instance of Eḷtugolugasaṇi with the sanction of the emperor.[90] The Badami Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya records the gift of several taxes and incomes in kind such as oil, sugar, etc., collected at the prescribed rate from each shop for offering to the shrine of the *Trimūrtis*, constructed by the queen-mother Vinayavatı.[91] Another inscription engraved on the wall of the Durga temple at Aihole records that fifty leaves were levied on each *Peru* of betel leaves for the shrine of Āditya Bhaṭāra.[92] It is another example of the king's dues being realised in kind, which could be gifted along with the grant having the sanction of the king and of the *nakara* before the *mahājanas*. The Paṭṭaḍakal Stone Inscription of Lokamahādevī records a settlement under which the people used to give two *kulas* (*Kolāga*, i.e., 16 *pailis* or 60 seers) of millet on (each) one *mattar* (of land) to the temple of Lokeśvara.[93] It is a clear case of voluntary levy, which could be in kind, with the approval of the crown.

Miscellaneous Taxes

There are also references to miscellaneous taxes. The Narwaṇ Plates of Vikramāditya II fix half the dues called '*aruhaṇa*' to be paid to the government officials from the village named Narwaṇa,[94] while the other half was taken by the donee. The Balaṁgave Inscription probably refers to the same tax '*aruvaṇa*'.[95] Sircar equates it with the Tamil '*aruvaṇa*', a tax of six *paṇas*, levied on the *mānya* lands.[96] The Sorab

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Grant of Vinayāditya also refers to '*hiraṇya*' as a tax[97] or some levy on agricultural and industrial products.[98] Probably it was a tax in cash collected sometimes in lieu of the grain share,[99] though the term generally means gold. In this connection, one inscription mentions '*teṟe-pon*', i.e., tribute or tax in gold.[100] So '*hiraṇya*' could be a tax collected in the form of gold or it might include a tax on gold mines, which lie in the area of Karnataka. A few Chālukya records also refer to certain other taxes. The Balaṁgave Stone Inscription refers to the puberty tax and that on salt.[101] The Añjanerī Plates of Bhogaśakti notice octroi duty (*śulka*) and also levy for looking after the board and lodging of royal officers.[102] The Lohner Copper Plates of Pulakeśin II register the gift of the village named *Goviyāṇaka* along with 'sarvarājakuladeya', indicating that this phrase includes taxes as well as other levies payable to the king from the above-mentioned village.[103]

Remission of Taxes

A few dynastic records also mention the remission of taxes. The Balaṁgave Stone Inscription records the remission of certain fees and duties by an official named Kandarba at the time of his accession to the office.[104] The Byāgavaḍi Stone Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya II also refers to the remission of certain cesses.[105] The Añjanerī Plates mention that the merchants of Samaragiri were exempted from octroi duty and the residents were not required to provide for lodging and board for royal officers.[106] Several Chālukyan grants state that the gifted land and properties were free from all obstructions and '*parihāras*',[107] indicating the *Smṛti* tradition of '*parihāra*' and '*anugraha*'. Kauṭilya also says that a king should bestow favours and remissions in such a way as might tend to swell the treasury and not deplete it.[108] Thus the Chālukyan rulers seem to have acted in accordance with the *Smṛti* rules and injunctions in this direction.

Other Sources of State Income

The dynastic records also furnish some information about a few other sources of state income. Among these may be

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mentioned treasure-troves, fines, escheat, tribute and war-booty. The epigraphs refer to the above items while enumerating the rights of donees over the gifted land or property. This indirectly hints that these items also contributed a lot to the state exchequer.

Treasure-Trove

The Hyderabad Copper Plate Inscription of Pulakeśin II mentions the gifting of the land together with the right to enjoy '*nidhi*' and '*upanidhi*'.[109] *Nidhi* is defined as wealth of an unknown person, while '*upanidhi*' which is the same as '*nikshepa*' is equated with deposit.[110] Paucity of a regular banking system in ancient India gave rise to the practice of burying wealth underground. That explains why the *Smṛtikāras* laid down rules about ownership of the treasure, as land all the way belonged to the crown. Kauṭilya lists hidden wealth among the external and occasional receipts of the king.[111] The *Smṛtis* are unanimous on the point that if anybody other than a *Brāhmaṇa* finds a treasure, he gets one/sixth of it and the rest goes to the royal treasury.[112] It is this right which the king had to forego along with the donated land. Thus, '*nidhi*' and '*upanidhi*' correspond to present treasure-trove and deposits, yielding an additional contribution to the state treasury.

Fines

A few Chālukyan epigraphs speak of crimes and offences which were punished with penalties or fines. The Añjanerī Plates of Bhogaśakti state that offences like adultery, outrage of the modesty of a girl, and injury to ears and head were punishable with 32, 108, 16 and 4 *Kṛshṇarāja rupakas*, respectively.[113] It also mentions that if a young merchant had illicit intercourse with a labour woman, he was fined 108 *rupakas* or whatever was fixed by eight or sixteen *mahallakas* (respectable men). It also states certain other offences and records them as punishable with fines. The Lakshmeśvar Pillar Inscription of Vikramāditya II also mentions theft, minor delinquencies and ten other offences which were punishable

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with penalties.[114] Kauṭilya and the *Smṛtis* also prescribe penalties for several offences,[115] which formed an important source of state revenue. As the checking of crimes and offences was the concern of the state, fines realised were paid into the state treasury.

Escheat

The Añjanerī Plates of Bhogaśakti state that under the provisions of this grant, the property of those who died intestate did not go by escheat to the crown.[116] The Balaṁgave Inscription also records that Kandarba, on becoming officer in charge of Nāyarakhaṇḍa, got a proclamation issued remitting the duties leviable in the case of a man dying without a son along with certain other *parihāras*.[117] The Lakshmeśvar Inscription also includes the property of a childless person, among others, to be paid to the guilds under the provisions of a settlement recorded in the aforesaid record.[118] Kauṭilya included the property of '*aputraka*' in a list of articles, which constitute the accidental receipts of the king.[119] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* narrates the practice of confiscating the property of those who died without a heir by the king.[120] It follows from the above that unless exempted by the king, the wealth and property of those dying issueless were escheated to the royal treasury in ordinary course. Thus, it is evident that escheat was also an additional source of state income.

Tribute

Tributes to the ruler in the form of money added to the state income. They were levied on feudatories. A Kannada record from Gooty in Anantpur district reveals the receipt of 70 *teṛe-pon* from the Bāṇa king after the conquest of the latter's territory. Sometimes it was in kind by way of presents from the feudatories to the emperor in court. The names of the rulers bringing presents were announced, as, for instance, the Kolhapur Grant of Vinayāditya mentions different rulers bringing tribute to the Chālukyan emperor.[121] These included the kings of Mūshaka and Lāṭa, Trairājya, a Pallava ruler, the Kāma king aud some woman ruler. The dynastic grants

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belonging to the time of Vinayāditya and onwards credit him with having levied tribute from the kings of *Kamera* (*Kavera*), *Pārasīka* and *Siṁhala*.[122] We are also informed by the Ulchala Stone Inscription[123] dated in the 35th year of Vijayāditya's reign that Vikramāditya II levied tribute from the Pallava Parameśvaravarman II.[124] All these instances prove that tributes constituted sizeable amount of income to the royal treasury. Several Chālukyan grants carried the expression "*Karadīkṛta*", signifying the tributes received by the Chālukyan emperors from their feudatories and vanquished kings.[125] As already stated, '*kara*' in this context refers to the subsidies paid by the vassals.

War Booty

The family records also refer to war booties which were sometimes utilised for specific purposes. Thus the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription points to the utilisation of a booty from the *Kalatsuris* (*Kalachuris*) in the idol-procession of the God Makuṭeśvaranātha.[126] War booties included several items like jewels, ornaments, elephants, gold, etc. The dynastic grants from the time of Vijayāditya onwards mention the humiliation of a king of the whole of the region of the North and state that Vijayāditya appropriated from him the elephants, jewels and other articles along with money as a result of the aforesaid victory, which he presented to his father.[127] An inscription belonging to the reign of Kīrttivarman II narrates that Vikramāditya II, making a sudden attack on the Tuṇḍāka country, seized elephants and rubies along with other precious articles, after putting to flight the Pallava Nandipotavarman.[128] The inscription of Vikramāditya II states that after undermining the power of the family foe, the Pallavas, he captured numerous elephants, rubies and heaps of gold, which he did not confiscate.[129] These instances are suggestive of the war booty seized by the Chālukyan kings.

Tax Officials

The dynastic records do not shed much light on the officials, specially appointed by the king to collect revenue. The Lakshmeśvar Inscription of prince Vikramāditya II states that

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taxes levied on the residents on the basis of property and status were to be paid to the '*deśapati*' (*Kannada*: *deśādhigāṛigal*) in the month of *Vaiśākha* annually.[130] This seems to provide us with a clue to conjecture that administrative officials like *deśapati*, *vishayapati*, *rāshṭragrāmakūṭa* and *bhogapati* were assigned the job of collecting the taxes in addition to their normal administrative duties. This seems quite apparent on the evidence of the Satara Plates of Vishṇuvardhana where *vishayapati*, *sāmanta*, *bhogapati* and *mahattaras*, besides the *chāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and *kusidas*, are asked not to enter the gifted land.[131] In the Chālukyan epigraphs, we come across an officer named '*bhogika*' but it would be inappropriate to regard him as an officer entrusted with the collection of the tax called '*bhoga*'.[132] The Balaṁgave Inscription mentions an *adhikaṛīgal* (Sanskrit *adhikarī*) who on becoming the officer of Nayārakhaṇḍa and Jeḍugur got certain taxes and dues remitted in favour of the people.[133] This probably indicates that he was an official connected with the revenue department. Krishnadeva, the editor of the Manor Plates, has translated the term '*akshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta*' occurring in the aforesaid epigraph as minister for revenue.[134] If the rendering of Krishnadeva is to be accepted, we have to conclude that a full-fledged separate department under a royal minister was looking after the collection of the state revenue.

It might be presumed that officials like *āyuktas*, *niyuktas* and *grāmabhogikas* were entrusted with the duty of collecting revenue at the *vishaya*, *āhara*, *bhoga* and village levels. At the divisional level probably, it was the responsibility of the *deśapati* or *desādhigāṛigal* to realise taxes. It may be mentioned here that the evidence is inconclusive for anything definite on this point. There are no references to revenue officials like *śaulkikas* and *draṅgikas* in the dynastic records, though the grants do mention taxes named *śulka* and *udraṅga*.[135] The local bodies of villages and towns and guilds were probably authorised under special provisions in the grants to receive certain taxes with the sanction of the crown.[136] The trustees of the temples were probably also authorised to collect revenue on the holdings gifted to them for the maintenance of the temple.

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Items of Expenditure

The dynastic records do not tell anything about the items of expenditure. It could be surmised on the basis of contemporary records and literature that they spent their revenue on various items including the maintenance of the royal family. The Chālukyan kings lived in great pomp and show with a number of palace officials for the service of the king[137] and his retinue. These occasionally helped him in administration. A major part of the Chālukyan exchequer was spent on the salaries of civil and military officials. The Chālukyas were having a six-winged army.[138] We can have an idea about the strength of their army from the victories they achieved over the lord of *Uttarāpatha* and the Pallavas of Kāñchī.[139] The maintenance of such a huge army must have caused a heavy drain on the state exchequer. There were many administrative officials in the empire of the Chālukyas which justifies the taxes they levied to provide good government to their subjects. They were certainly spending a sizeable amount to meet the salaries and allowances of the administrative officials of the empire.

Besides the above items, the civil and defence expenses and public welfare, including the construction and upkeep of the temples, put heavy drain on the royal treasury.[140] A good deal of royal income must have gone to the *Brāhmaṇa* donees, temples, monasteries, scholars, poets and artisans.[141]

The method of payment to state servants is not definitely known. Probably they were receiving salaries in cash. As already stated, the state dues were collected both in cash and in kind, so a conjecture could be hazarded that royal officials were also paid both in cash and in kind.[142] It seems that land grants were also given to the civil and military personnel for distinguished services, though the records are silent on this point.

NOTES

1. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 17; *SIP*, p. 18.
2. अल्पकोषो हि राजा पौरजान्-पदानेवग्रसते, *AS*, Book II, Canto I, p. 111.
3. *Śāntiparva*, Canto 119, v. 16.
4. *Vishṇudharmottara*, Book II, Canto 61, v. 17.
5. कृतरक्षः समुत्थाय पश्येदाय-

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व्ययौस्वयम्, *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, Canto I, v. 327.

6. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 184f.
7. *HRS*, p. 22f; see also *EHDD*, p. 53.
8. *EI*, Vol. VIJI (Nasik Ins. No. 2), p. 60f.
9. *AS*, Book II, Canto 15, p. 230.
10. *Manusmṛti*, Canto VII, v. 130.
11. *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (Kāshi Sanskrit Series 172), p. 98.
12. *Śukranīti*, Canto IV (ii), v. 113.
13. *MASR*, 1939, p. 129f; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 43; *EI*, Vol. XXX, p. 69; *ARSE*, 1939-42, pp. 122 and 232.
14. *KT*, Vol. II, pp. 4-8.
15. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
16. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 238.
17. *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 289f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91f; *EI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 313; *IHQ*, Vol. IV, p. 425f.
18. *EI*, Vol. XXXI, p. 264, Vol. XXXIV, p. 114.
19. *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 120 note and 254.
20. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 190.
21. *SI*, p. 372n.
22. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 146f.
23. Monier Williams, p. 254.
24. *EI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 313f, Vol. IX, p. 200f, Vol. V, p. 200f.
25. *AS*, Book II, Canto 6, p. 136, Canto 15, p. 230; *Manusmṛti*, Canto VIII, v. 307.
26. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 190.
27. *HRS*, p. 189.
28. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Shamasastry's Translation, 5th Edition), p. 58.
29. Ibid., p. 99.
30. *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 225; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 146.
31. *Śukranīti*, Canto IV, v. 104; *HD*, Vol. III, p. 190.
32. *Mitākshara* on *Yājñavalkya*, Canto II, v. 263.
33. *Gautamadharmasūtra*, Canto II (ii), v. 27.
34. *Vishṇudharmasūtra*, III, 20-30.
35. *AS*, Book II, Canto 21, p. 270f.
36. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, Canto II, 261 (*HD*, Vol. III, p. 193).
37. *JRAS*, Vol. V, p. 343f; *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 209f, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
38. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
39. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 98, note.
40. *HRS*, p. 210; *EHD*, pp. 58-59.
41. *JRAS*, 1931, p. 165 (as quoted by Das in *EHDD*, p. 59).
42. *EHDD*, p. 59. Gupta also regards it cess. *LSSI*, p. 169.
43. *CII*, Vol. IV, Intro., p. CXLIV.
44. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 123f; ibid., Vol. IV, p. 127f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
45. *IEG*, p. 239.
46 *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 238.
47. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
48. *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 264f; ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 293f.
49. *QJMS*, Vol. XLV, p. 66; *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 55-56.
50. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 384f.
51. *QJMS*, Vol. XLV, p. 2f; *EI*, Vol. XXX, p. 75.
52. *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 55-56; *EIG*, pp. 233-34.
53. *EHDD*, p. 72.
54. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 209f.
55. *CII*, Vol. V, p. 123f; ibid., Vol. IV, p. 127f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
56. *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 189, note.
57. *HRS*, p. 210; *EHDD*, pp. 61-62.
58. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 97 and note 6; *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 118; *CII*, Vol. IV, Intro., p. CXLI.
59. *IEG*, pp. 101 and 349.
60. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
61. *AS*, Book II, Canto 6, p. 137.

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62. *IEG*, p. 159; *EHDD*, 61.
63. *HRS*, p. 195. Maity thinks the *klipta* and *upaklipta* do not refer to taxes but to some royal right over the land. Quoting the Moṭupalli Inscription, Das asserts that it implied a fixed tax. *EINT*, p. 67; *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 193-195; *EHDD*, pp. 61-62.
64. *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 175, note.
65. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72f.
66. *ELNIGP*, p. 67.
67. *AS*, Book II, Canto 6, p. 137.
68. *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 193-95.
69. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 188-91.
70. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
71. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25f; *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 238.
72. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 28; *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 89.
73. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 89.
74. *IEG*, p. 350.
75. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 238.
76. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
77. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f.
78. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *JOR*, Vol. XI, pp. 165-67.
79. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 59f.
80. *EHDD*, p. 89.
81. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 61.
82. *AS*, Book II, Canto 24, p. 286.
83. *SII*, Vol. IX, No. 46, pp. 66-67.
84. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
85. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 142.
86. *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 330f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 37f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
87. *EHDD*, pp. 56-57.
88. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 37f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f.
89. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 37f; *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 330; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 117; ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 17.
90. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 285f.
91. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 2f.
92. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 286.
93. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 167.
94. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125.
95. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 142f.
96. *IEG*, p. 29.
97. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 146f.
98. *HRS*, p. 61.
99. *EHDD*, p. 63.
100. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 238; *SII*, Vol. IX, pp. 66-67.
101. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 142f. Sastri differs with Fleet and regards the term indicating puberty to mean something concerning festivals. *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 238, note 1.
102. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 146f and 154f.
103. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f.
104. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 142.
105. *ARIE*, 1949-50, No. 78B, pp. 7 and 25.
106. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 146f and 154f.
107. सर्वबाधा परिहारौपेतंस्सभोग-सहितोदत, *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 63.सभोग सर्वपरिहारौपेतोदत, *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 62; *IHQ*, Vol. IV, p. 245; *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 91; *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 289.
108. अनुग्रह परिहारौचैम्य: कोश-वृद्धिकरौदद्यात्, *AS*, Book II, Canto I, p. 111.
109. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 72.
110. *EHDD*, p. 72.
111. *AS*, Book II, Canto 6, p. 137.
112. *GD*, Ch. X, pp. 43-45, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Canto II, verses 34-35.
113. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 154f.
114. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
115. *HD*, Vol. III, pp. 255-57.
116. *CII*, Vol IV, p. 154.
117. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 142.
118. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188.

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119. *AS*, Book II, Canto 6, p. 139.
120. *RT*, Canto VII, v. 697.
121. *SII*, Vol. IX, pp. 26-27.
122. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f.
123. *EI*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 313; ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 125f; ibid., Vol. IX, p. 200f.
124. *ARIE*, 1943-45, No. 22E, p. 90.
125. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313; ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 125; ibid., Vol. IX, p. 200.
126. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 18-20.
127. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 14; ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 313.
128. *EI*, Vol. V, p. 200f.
129. *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 359f.
130. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
131. विदितमस्तु सर्वेषां पर्यन्त विषय-पति सामन्त ग्रामभोगिक महत्तरादीनाम चटक भटकु सीदादीनां अप्रवेश्यः, *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 303f.
132. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f.
133. *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 144f.
134. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17f.
135. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 154.
136. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 188f.
137. *KI*, Vol. II, p. 6f; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 388-89.
138. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 1.
139. The Chālukyas are known to have fought several offensive and defensive wars to the North and South of their territories which suggests that these must have resulted in a great strain on the royal treasury. Being *Vijigīshu* (*IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 18-20; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 313) aspiring for the status of the *Chakravartin* (*IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 30), they had to face different situations and political forces which cost them heavily in men and resources.
140. The extant specimens of the temples built during the regime of the Chālukyas at Badami, Aihole and Paṭṭaḍakal make us believe that these rulers invested a lot of money on the construction and excavation of temples. The kings of this dynasty generously bestowed many gifts for the upkeep of these temples. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 166-69; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 1f.
141. The dynastic records mention the bestowal of several charities on the *Brāhmaṇas* and learned people. Several Chālukyan kings gifted land and villages to the Jains or to their institutions. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 112; *EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 204; *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 4-6. The rulers of this dynasty also patronised artists. The Badami Inscription dated in the Śaka year 500 narrates the embellishment of the Vaishṇava Cave at Badami. Probably the paintings in the cave were also executed during the reign of Maṅgaleśa. Several Chālukyan records speak about the patronage extended to the artisans. Even taxes on properties stood transferred in favour of charitable institutions by the crown. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 57 and 164-65; *KI*, Vol. I, p. 4f; "Bas-reliefs of Badami", *MASI*, Vol. 26.
142. It seems plausible on the testimony of the Añjanerī Plates of Bhogaśakti that officials were authorised to have their board and lodging while on administrative tours from the public. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 154f.

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X

Army Organisation

THE army is mentioned by the political thinkers as one of the seven constituents (*prakṛtis*) of the state.[1] In fact, it is the most important one, as the security of any state depends on it. No ruler can afford to ignore this fact. It meets external aggressions, and preserves law and order inside the kingdom. The Chālukyas were no exception to it and they had a large organised army to guard their territories against aggression from different directions. According to the famous Aihole *Praśasti*, the strength of the Chālukyan army was of six divisions,[2] though conventionally there were only four wings, as mentioned in their records.[3] There was also a strong division of navy to guard the sea-coast and conduct maritime operations.[4] Thus we gather references about five divisions of the Chālukyan army. Nothing can be stated finally about the sixth wing of it. This strong Chālukyan army could easily stand against Harsha's incursions from the North, as we gather from Hiuen-Tsang's account.[5] According to the Chinese pilgrim, Śilāditya (Harshavardhana) had gathered troops from the five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all the countries, and himself went at the head of his army to punish and subdue *Mo-ho-la-cha* but he failed to conquer their troops.[6] In fact, according to the Aihole *Praśasti*, Pulakeśin II actually defeated Harsha who had to retreat.[7] The same Chālukyan army was equally aggressive and it crushed the mighty forces of the Pallavas by storming

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their metropolis several times.[8] The Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions also praise the heroic nature of the Chālukyan army (*Karṇāṭakabala*, in their records), despite the former's defeat at the hands of Dantidurga.[9]

Divisions of the Chālukyan Army

The inscriptions no doubt record the military exploits of individual Chālukyan rulers, without referring to the organisational set-up. The Chālukyan army no doubt consisted of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, besides the naval unit.[10] Some information is also available on this point from the accounts of Hiuen-Tsang and the frescoes from Ajanta, which was within the territory of the Chālukyas.[11]

Infantry

The infantry formed the biggest unit of the army, and according to Chālukyan epigraphs, a large contingent of foot soldiers was employed by the ruler. The dynastic records allude to the infantry division of the Chālukyan army along with the other traditional three wings.[12] The Lakshmeśvar Inscription of the time of Pulakeśin II refers to *Padāti*, i.e., infantry.[13] This included both regular and irregular troops. The *chāṭas* and the *bhaṭas* were the latter group, who refrained from visiting those lands which were gifted away under royal grants.[14] There were six types of troops, viz., *maula*, *bhṛtya*, *śreṇī*, *mitra*, *āṭavika* and *amitra*.[15] The Aihole *Praśasti* also seems to refer to these six types of troops.[16] Maula, as the name suggests, was the hereditary force which a ruler inherited from his predecessor. Details about recruitment, training and emoluments to such soldiers are not given anywhere. They were no doubt provided with proper dress, equipment, and were given arms, as we find from war-like scenes from Ajanta depicting marching soldiers,[17] and from the account of Hiuen-Tsang.[18] The *bhṛtyas* probably formed an attendant class comprising those who looked after food and other comforts of soldiers and in an emergency could as well take up arms. Some scholars suggest it to be the force raised by the king paying more money.[19] The *śreṇīs* were the troops probably supplied by

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feudatories and guilds, while the allied forces (*mitra*) were furnished by friendly rulers. Those coming from the forest tribes were called *āṭavikas*. The last type probably included prisoners of war who were made to fight for their captors.[20]

Cavalry

Cavalry was another important unit of the Chālukyan army. The dynastic records refer to the cavalry along with the traditional wings of the army.[21] The Lakshmeśvar Inscription also refers to this force.[22] The Aihole *Praśasti* mentions the *aśvasenā*.[23] In the absence of local supply, horses were imported from Sindh, Persia and Arabia. Being more agile and swift in movement, horses could carry their riders expeditiously and to a longer distance. Sometimes these had to be ferried across on boats, as is shown in a scene from Cave No. XVII at Ajanta.[24] In this context, according to the Aihole *Praśasti*, the cavalry of Maṅgaleśa had tasted the water of eastern and western oceans.[25] The horses were well looked after and were properly saddled and bridled, as is evident from the frescoes at Ajanta[26] and the accounts of Hiuen-Tsang.[27]

Elephants

The elephant unit formed the defensive organ of the army, providing inaccessible cover to the infantry at the rear.[28] This unit was also required in peaceful times to serve as the paraphernalia of the royalty.[29] The generals and leaders of the army rode on elephants while fighting their enemies.[30] The elephant force was, thus, a useful wing of the army and its importance is also recorded in the Aihole *Praśasti*,[31] and it also figures in the Ajanta frescoes as part of the regal retinue.[32] These were also transported on boats as these are depicted in the frescoes across the sea in the war against Siṁhala.[33] The Chinese pilgrim has also noticed the importance of this force and goes even to the extent of pointing out that they were intoxicated with wine to make them fight bitterly and with great force.[34] The pilgrim narrates that Pulakeśin II, in consequence of possessing these elephants, treated his neighbours with contempt.[35] In the clash between the Chālukyan ruler

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Pulakeśin II and Harsha, the elephant force had played an important role and the former probably captured many elephants of the latter's army.[36] Elephants were also properly trained, as we gather from Bāṇa describing the catching and training of elephants.[37]

Chariots

While chariots played an important role in warfare in earlier times, these were not of great use in the medieval period for obvious reasons; and their utility was confined to a great extent to ceremonial functions.[38] The cavalry seems to have replaced these because of their greater mability. The Ajanta frescoes also depict war chariots being driven by four or more horses and engaging a few crew.[39] Significantly, the Chinese pilgrim does not refer to chariots but to carts, as he may have mistaken chariots for carts. It is, however, clear that these were not very popular.

Navy

A strong naval force was a great asset to the Chālukyas who had to maintain vigil over a long sea-coast in Western India.[40] This could as well be used for maritime trade and also for expeditions against other powers. One such instance, according to the Nilagunḍa Copper Plate Inscription of Vikramāditya VI, was the sending of a naval expedition by Maṅgaleśa against the island of Revatī which he captured.[41] The same expedition is also mentioned in the Aihole *Praśasti* in glorious terms.[42] It also records the reduction of Purī, the capital of Konkan, by Pulakeśin II with the help of the fleet which consisted of a hundred vessels.[43] The Kendur Plates of Kīrttivarman II record that Vinayāditya, the grandson of Pulakeśin II, brought Ceylon under his control with the help of war boats.[44] These few epigraphic pieces of evidence indirectly point to the unchallengeable supremacy of the Chālukyan navy during that period. The Kallasāmbī Plates refer to the inclusion of war boats in the army of Maṅgaleśa.[45] Besides the epigraphic sources, the scenes from Ajanta paintings also confirm the utility of a naval force and its use by the Chālukyan rulers in their expeditions

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against their opponents.[46]

Arms and Weapons

The Chālukyan inscriptions notice the training of princes in handling different types of weapons which were handled by common soldiers. These included sword, spear, bow and arrow. We have references to pointed arrows in the Navsārī Plates of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha, who is said to have exterminated the entire army of Vajjaḍa in the region between the rivers Māhī and Narmadā with his bright-tipped arrows.[47] The Ajanta paintings of this period also depict these in different situations making bows and arrows the common weapons of war along with the sword and lance.[48] Three types of swords are depicted, the short one and the long one and the third with the leafed blade.[49] All these types have a common feature, namely, one type of hilt with an angular 'V'-shaped guard and disc-like pommel.[50]

The lances depicted in the Ajanta paintings are short with triangular blades and ferrules.[51] The Chinese pilgrim also refers to lances and describes that "each time they are about to engage in conflict, they intoxicate themselves with wine. One man having a lance in his hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight."[52] The daggers with triangular blades and shaped grips are as well noticed in the frescoes at Ajanta.[53] So also the double-bladed *vajra* like daggers and the *chakras* flying through the air are also shown in the frescoes.[54] The Ajanta paintings also notice round, curved and oblong shields made of metal and hide.[55] Several Chālukyan epigraphs refer to *kavacha* or armour.[56] A good number of sculptures at Badami, Aihole and Paṭṭaḍakal show not only armoured soldiers but also caparisoned horses. Metal armours served as shields against attack by enemies, protecting both men and animal forces.[57]

Military Officials

Undoubtedly, the king was the supreme commander of the armed forces and he headed the important encounters. The dynastic grants indicate that the ruler was always accompanied

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by his minister for peace and war, *sandhivigrahika* in the battle-field.[58] A good number of royal commands either recording gifts or carrying other administrative orders were written by the *sandhivigrahikas*, whose duty included the composition and issue of royal commands.[59] The *balādhikṛta* or *mahābalādhikṛta*, i.e., 'commander-in-chief' or 'the supreme commander', is also referred to in several records.[60] There is, however, no reference to other grades of officials, except the official in charge of the fort.[61] *Balādhikṛta* or *mahābalādhikṛta* is referred to in the Surat and Navsari Plates,[62] and has an old history, since these two military officials are noticed as early as the Kushana period.[63] The Nagod and Kasare Plates of Allaśakti also refer to these Chālukyan military officials.[64] According to the Navsari Plates, the grant was written by Bappabhaṭṭi, who was *mahābalādhikṛta* as well as *mahāsandhivigrahika*, indicating that he was a minister as well as chief commander.[65] The Surat Plates refer to two *balādhikṛtas* named Ammagopa and Chella.[66] This official figures in several contemporary records as well as in literature.[67] Sometimes the *balādhyaksha* or *mahābalādhyaksha* is also referred to in the contemporary inscriptions.[68]

It is difficult to assign any graded rank to these officials. It could as well be said on the basis of the commentary of *Kullukabhaṭṭa* on Manu that the *balādhyaksha* was the controlling officer of ten *senāpatis*.[69] Some scholars believe him to be the head of a territorial unit like Mamlatdar.[70] Generally, he is equated with *senāpati* or generalissimo.[71] Dr. Puri suggests that he was an officer attached to the secretariat for looking after military affairs.[72] In the Chālukyan inscriptions, he is mentioned in the context of an army commander. The term *mahābalādhikṛta* probably refers to the supreme commander or commander-in-chief. It might as well be proposed on the basis of dynastic epigraphs that the *balādhikṛta* was sometimes also assigned a few diplomatic duties, as seen from the Surat Plates where Ammagopa is also described as a *dūtaka*.[73]

The Chālukyan army seems to have been efficient and well-managed. This fact is recorded by Hiuen-Tsang, who refers to the valour and brave deeds of Pulakeśin's generals and pays tribute to them.[74] The Chinese pilgrim narrates an interesting custom about them. The custom was that on defeat, the

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generals were required to put on a lady's dress, symbolising their defeat and lack of valour. So they preferred to die rather than undergo this humiliation.[75]

The recruitment of the army personnel—both rank and file—was probably confined to *Kshatriyas* alone, though there is a single instance of a *Brāhmaṇa* general. The Manor Copper Plate Inscription refers to *Mahābalādhikṛta Bhaṭṭa* Rudranāga, son of Kumārasvāmī Dīkshita, who was a *Brāhmaṇa*.[76] The strength of the army varied according to the exigencies of the situation. In times of war, the feudatories supplied their forces to the overlord. The king, too, had a good standing army. It is not possible to give an exact number of Chālukyan troops in the absence of any specific mention of it in the records, but it certainly included a large number of elephants and infantry. The Chinese pilgrim merely states that the king provided for several hundred troops.[77] Further in the 'Life' it is recorded that the king always supported several thousand men of valour and kept several hundred savage elephants.[78] It indicates that the Chālukyas had a large standing army.

The fighting force was properly trained and groomed. The soldiers were war-like and spirited, drawn from the people of three Mahārāshṭras who were held in high esteem for their valour and conduct.[79] The fighting troops were also intoxicated and so also were the elephants to tone up their spirit and make them desperate in fighting. This fact is recorded by Hiuen-Tsang.[80] They also followed certain ethical principles, as warning the enemy before attack, and not killing those who submitted to them.[81] The beating of drums was another interesting feature before the engagement in the battle-field.[82] The troops also carried bands and banners, as seen from the Aihole *Praśasti*.[83] During the time of conflict if a soldier met a man and killed him, the laws of the country did not punish him.[84]

The board and lodging of the rank and file was also important and probably officers were specially appointed for this purpose. The troops remained at headquarters and were also kept at strategic points. They were given residence in forts which were properly fortified.[85] Badami, Aihole and Paṭṭaḍakal are described as fort cities.[86] The Goa Grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman also refers to a fort at

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Revatīdvīpa.[87] This grant also refers to an official named Vijayarāja, who was the governor of the fort, *durgapati*,[88] probably synonymous with *koṭṭapāla* and *durgapāla* of the inscriptions[89] and *purupa* of the Vedic texts.[90] These forts were the strongholds of the Chālukyan army and the *durgapati* was charged with the responsibility of *durga* or fort. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to state whether he was appointed by the crown or the provincial chief. There is paucity of information about his specific functions and emoluments.

We also do not find information about the training and discipline of the army personnel in the dynastic records. It is difficult to say anything definite on this point, but it could be presumed that proper training in arms and weapons was provided to the troops before they were commissioned in the army. It could as well be said that before the recruitment of soldiers in the naval unit of the Chālukyan army, they were given training in the coastal regions about ships and war boats.

NOTES

1. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 200; *MCS*, p. 185; *SIP*, p. 250.
2. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 11.
3. रथहस्त्यश्वपादातसंकुलानेक युद्ध लब्ध जयपताका, *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
4. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 21. The *Mahābhārata* refers to the department of *nau*. We also notice the representation of ship on Sātavāhana coins. These references indicate the antiquity of naval forces in India. *WAI*, pp. 137-40; *EHD*, Vol. II, p. 796.
5. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239; *Life*, p. 147.
6. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
7. *EI*, Vol . VI, p. 10, v. 23.
8. *DKD*, pp. 350-51, 362; *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 222 and 228; *CA*, p. 238f; *HK*, p. 101; *KTA*, pp. 203 and 209.
9. *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 111; *SKH*, Vol. I, p. 58; *DKD*, p. 389; *EHD*, Vol. I, p. 230.
10. करितुरग रथ पदाति बलो, *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f.
11. *EHD*, Vol. II, p. 770f; *Ajanta*, Vol. II, pp. 5, 11, 12, 24, 35 and 41.
12. रथहस्त्यश्व पादात संकुलानेक युद्धलब्ध जयपताका, *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f.
    करितुरग रथपदातिकबलो, *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137.
13. "चतुस्समुद्रान्त स्नात तुरङ्गेभ-पदाति सेना समूह", *IA*, Vol.

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VII, p. 101f.

14. 'अचाट भट प्रवेश्य' । *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 330; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37f.
15. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 200; *MCS*, pp. 192-95.
16. उद्धतामलचामरध्वजशत छत्रान्ध कारबलैः
शौर्योत्साहरसोद्धतारिमथनैः
मौलादिभि षडविधैः, *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10.
17. *IA*, Vol. LVII, p. 169.
18. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 25f; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239f.
19. *MCS*, p. 192.
20. *HD*, Vol. III, p. 200; *MCS*, p. 192.
21. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 57f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f; *SIP*, p. 253; *WAI*, p. 175.
22. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 101f.
23. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, v. 11.
24. *IA*, Vol. LVII, p. 169.
25. य पूर्व्व पश्चिमसमुद्र तटोषिताश्व सेनारजः पट विनिर्मित दिग्वितानः, *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 11.
26. *IA*, Vol. LVII, p. 170.
27. *Life*, p. 146.
28. *SIP*, p. 250.
29. Ibid., pp. 50-51.
30. *SIP*, p. 250.
31. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 8, verses 10, 12, p. 9, v. 17, p. 10, v. 23.
32. *Ajanta*, Vol. I.
33. *IA*, Vol. LVII, p. 169.
34. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256; *Life*, p. 147; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
35. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 256; *Life*, p. 147; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
36. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10, v. 23; *EHD*, Vol. I.
37. *HAT*, p. 274.
38. *SIP*, p. 250.
39. *IA*, Vol. LVII, p. 172.
40. *SIP*, p. 277.
41. *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 205.
42. पुनरपिचजिघृक्षोस्सैन्यमा-
व्रकान्तसाल
रुचिर बहुलताकं रेवती द्वीप माशु ।
सपदि महदुदन्वत्तोयसंक्रान्त विम्बं
वरुण बलमिवाभूदागतं यस्य वाचा ।। *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 5, v. 13.
43. अपरजलघर्लक्ष्मी यस्मिन पुरीं पुरभित्प्रभे,
मदगजघटा कारै नौवाशतैर-
वमृदनति ।
जलदपद्धलानीकाकीर्ण नवोत्पल-
मेचकं,
जलनिधिरिव व्योम व्योम्नः
समोऽभवदम्बुधिः ।। *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 6, v. 21.
44. *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 151; *SIP*, p. 277.
45. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, p. 77.
46. *IA*, Vol. LVII, p. 169.
47. महीनर्म्मदान्तराल धवलफलं शिलीमुखजाल
विजित विनिहत वज्जड समस्त सैन्यो । *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 8f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 127f.
48. *IA*, Vol. LVII, pp. 170-72; *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 256.
49. Ibid., Vol. LVII, p. 170.
50. *IA*, Vol. LVII, p. 170.
51. Ibid.
52. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 255f; *Life*, p. 147; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
53. *IA*, Vol. LVII, p. 170.
54. Ibid.

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55. Ibid., pp. 170-71.
56. Appendix A, Nos. 37, 46, 51, 62 and 112.
57. *SIP*, p. 255.
58. *EI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 115f, Vol. V, p. 200f; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 91f; *JBISM*, Vol. IX, p. 1f.
59. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 388-89.
60. The majority of the Chālukyan royal commands were drafted by the *Sandhivigrahika* indicating that he, being in charge of external department of the kingdom, was assigned the job of writing the grants involving transfer of property and foregoing of royal taxes. *EHD*, Vol. I, pp. 388-89; *Manasollasa—A Cultural Study*, pp. 160-62.
61. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
62. The Surat Plates describe that *Balādhikṛta* Ammagopa was also *dūtaka*, indicating that army official like *Balādhikṛta* were promoted to the rank of *dūtaka*, who was considered to be the most confidential person. The Navsārī Plates of Pulakeśirāja narrate that *Mahābalādhikṛta* Bappabhaṭṭi was also *sandhivigrahika* and *sāmanta* with the epithet of *pañcha-mahāśabda*, indicating that trusted *sāmantas* were given the high ranking post of active military service as of *Mahābalādhikṛta*, as well as the diplomatic office of *sandhivigrahika*. This also suggests the plurality of offices. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 132f and 137f.
63. *CA*, p. 343; *HIA*, p. 144.
64. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 195f; *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 110f.
65. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 137f.
66. Ibid., p. 132f.
67. *WAI*, p. 230f; *SIWW*, pp. 111-12; *CA*, p. 343.
68. *HIA*, Vol. I, pp. 184-86.
69. *Manusmṛti*, Canto VII, p. 189 as quoted by Dikshitar in *WAI*, pp. 230-31.
70. *WAI*, pp. 230-31.
71. *HTA*, p. 185.
72. *HGP*, p. 111.
73. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 132f.
74. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 255f; *Life*, p. 147; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
75. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 255-56; *Life*, p. 147.
76. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 21-22.
77. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, p. 255f; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239f.
78. *Life*, p. 147.
79. Ibid., p. 146; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239.
80. *Life*, pp. 146-47; *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 239f.
81. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, pp. 255-56.
82. Ibid.
83. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 10.
84. *Siyuki*, Vol. II, pp. 255-56.
85. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV; *The Deccan Forts*, p. 10; *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 348-67.
86. *The Deccan Forts*, pp. 115-16.
87. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
88. अत्राज्ञाप्ति दुर्गपति विजयराजः, *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 348f.
89. *HGP*, p. 112.
90. *Vedic Age*.

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APPENDIX A

A LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BADAMI

1. Badami Inscription of Chalikya Vallabheśvara

Bijapur, Sanskrit Southern characters of the sixth century A.D., Śaka 465=A.D. 543. The record states that in Śaka 465 Chalikya Vallabheśvara, born of Hiraṇyagarbha, made Vāṭāpī his capital by constructing a citadel for the prosperity of the earth. It describes Pulakeśin I as the performer of *Aśvamedha* and other Śrauta sacrifices. This is the first authentic use of Śaka era in the Chālukyan epigraphs. *KI*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 4-6; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4-9; *SI*, p. 482; *SI*, Vol. I, p. 482.

2. Aminbhāvī Stone Tablet Inscription

Dharwar, *Sūryagrahaṇa*, Thursday, new moon day of Vaiśākha, Sarvajīta Samvatsara, Śaka 488 (a mistake for 489, expired)=A.D. 567-68. It records that Pulakeśin I Satyāśraya made certain grants to god Kalideva of Ammaiyaṇabhāvī besides an *agrahāra* in Kundūr—500 of the Talasige vishaya from Kisuvoḷaḷ. It was discarded as spurious but with the publication of the Bādāmi Inscription of Vallabheśvara of Śaka 465, it appears to be genuine. Elliot, *Carnataka Desa Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 612; *BG*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 358; *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 209; *Dharwar Gazetteer* (Revised), pp. 59-60.

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3. Mudhol Plates of Pugavarman

Bijapur, Sanskrit Southern Brahmi characters with archaic traits, having hollow boxheads. Undated roughly middle of the sixth century A.D. The inscription refers to a hitherto unknown prince Pugavarman, son of *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja*, who performed several Vedic sacrifices. Pugavarman is also credited with the title of *Raṇashṭātura* (editor corrects it to Raṇasṭhātri, i.e., firm in battle). It registers a gift of land in the village of [Mala] Ketaka to god Vārāhīdeva by Pugavarman. The editor identifies *Śrīprithivīvallabha* with Pulakeśin I. *Progress Report of K.R. in Bombay 1941-46*, pp. 12 & 19; *ARIE*, 1949-50, pp. 2 & 11; *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 293-98.

4. Alṭem Plates of the Chālukya Pulakeśin I

Kolhapur, Sanskrit and Kaṇṇaḍa characters of tenth century A.D. *Chandragrahaṇa, Vaiśakha Pūrṇimā Vibhava Saṁvatasara*, Śaka 411 (expired). The record refers to the reign of Pulakeśin I *Satyāśraya*, son of Raṇarāga and grandson of Jayasiṁha. It mentions his feudatory Samiyāra of Rudranīla Saindraka family, governor of Kuhunḍī district, who built a Jain temple at the city of Alaktakanagara, and who with the permission of his overlord gifted some villages and land. It also speaks of several Jain preceptors. Fleet declared it spurious for faulty date and late characters. *JRAS*, Vol. V, p. 343f; *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 209-217; ibid., Vol. XXX, p.

5. Badami Cave Inscription

Bijapur, Sanskrit and Southern Brahmi characters, *Kārttika Purṇimā*, Śaka 500=31st October 578 A.D., 12th regnal year of *Mahārāja* (Kīrttivarman I). This record refers to construction of the Vishṇu temple and its enclosing boundaries by Maṅgaliśvara, younger brother of Kīrttivarman I in the latter's 12th regnal year. It also registers a grant in favour of the *Brāhmaṇas* for daily offering to god Narayana, at the time of the festivity for the inauguration of the image (?). This record helps us to fix the period of Kīrttivarman's accession to the throne. *IA*, Vol. III, pp. 305-06; ibid., Vol. X, pp. 57-60.

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6. Goḍachī Plates of Katti-arasa

Torgal (Kolhapur), Sanskrit and Southern class of characters regular to the Sixth century A.D.; *Kārttika Purṇamāsī*, 12th regnal year of king Katti-arasa (Kirttivarman I). The epigraph commences with the *praśasti* of the Chālukya family and introduced king Katti-arasa as favourite son of *Raṇavikrama Dharmamahārāja*, i.e., Pulakeśin I. It records a gift land in Nulgoḷa village to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Kṛishṇaśvāmin by king Katti-arasa (Kīrttivarman I). *JUB*, Vol. V, p. 165f; *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka*, Vol. XXIII, p. 25f; *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 59-62.

7. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa

Badami (Bijapur), Sanskrit and Southern characters. *Vaiśākha Purṇamāsī*, *Siddhārtha Saṁvatsara*, 5th (7th) regnal year of king Maṅgaleśa. This Śaiva epigraph records that with the authority of Maṅgaleśa, his mother Durlabhādevī (Batpura lineage) increased the previous grant of ten villages to god Makūṭeśvaranātha. The author of the grant has furnished us with many details of the dynastic history upto the reign of Maṅgaleśa. It indicates that Maṅgaleśa longed to conquer North India and intended to raise a pillar of victory on the banks of the *Bhagīrathī*. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 7-20.

8. Nerūr Plates of Maṅgalarāja

Kuḍāl (Ratnagiri), Sanskrit and Southern Brahmi characters. 12th day of the month of *Kārttika*. It informs us that king Maṅgaleśa, son of Vallabha, has driven out king Buddha, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, and had slain Śvamirāja of the Chālukya lineage. It records that having fasted on the above *tithi* and worshipping lord Vishṇu the king gifted the village of Kunḍivāṭaka to Priyasvāmī. *JBBRAS*, Vol. III, p. 203f; *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 161-63.

9. Badami Cave Inscription of Maṅgaleśa

Badami (Bijapur), Old Kaṇṇaḍa language and script. Undated. It records the grant of land at the rate of half a *Visa*

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to the garland makers, who work for the God Lañjigesara in the temple built by Maṅgaleśa. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 59-60.

10. Goa Grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman

Goa, Sanskrit and Southern Brahmi characters. *Māgha Purṇamāsī*, 20th regnal year of *Śrīprithivīvallabha Maharāja* (Maṅgaleśa) Śaka 532. (Current)=5th January, 610 A.D. It records the gift of the village Karellikā in Kheṭahāradeśa to Śivāraya with the prior permission of *Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja* by Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, who was the *adhipati* of four *vishayamaṇḍalas* and of the lineage of Bappura, stationed at Revatīdvīpa. The *Śāsana* was made by Vijayarāja, engraved by the son of Śaṅkara and is written by Durganāga. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 348-67.

11. Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II

Hyderabad (A.P.), Sanskrit and cave alphabets. Sun eclipse, *Bhādrapada amāvāsyā*, Śaka 534 (expired) 3rd regnal year of the king=23rd July, 613 A.D. It registers a command of the king concerning the grant of the village Mākarppi to Jyeshthaśarman. This record helps us to fix the date of accession of Pulakeśin II and his conflict with Śrī Harsha of Kanauj. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 72-75.

12. Kaṇaḍalgaon Plates of Pulakeśin II

Mālwan (Ratnagiri), Sanskrit and Southern characters, 7th lunar day of *Māgha* in the 5th regnal year of the king=Roughly 615 A.D. The plates record the grant of the village Pirigipa on the north bank of the Mahānadī in the island of Revatīdvīpa to *Brāhmaṇa* Nārāyaṇaswāmī. Fleet declared it spurious due to inaccuracy in language and irregular formation of characters. This does not seem to be justified because the plates are not only regular in style and appearance to the Chālukyas but carry genuine seal and the usual representation of the Chālukyan boar emblem standing to the proper right. *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 330-31; ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 216, No. 27.

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13. Maṇṭūru Plates of Satyāśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha

Sanskrit and archaic Telugu Kaṇṇaḍa script. Solar eclipse, *Jyeshtha Amāvasyā*, 8th regnal year=21st May, 616 A.D. The grant was issued by king *Satyāśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha* (Pulakeśin II) from Kallūra immediately after the capture of Pishṭapura in his 8th regnal year. Its purpose was to fulfil "the *Saṁkalpa Siddhi*", i.e., vow to please the Guru of the chief queen Kadamba Mahādevī and confer perpetual benefit on 'Alūka Mahārāja', who had accepted on the king's behalf the overlordship of Kallūra and had come from Maṅgalapura. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 11-39.

14. Satara Plates of Prince Vishṇuvardhana

Satara, (M.S.), Sanskrit and Southern characters. *Kārttika Paurṇamāsī*, 8th regnal year of *Maharāja* (identified with Pulakeśin II)=Roughly 617 A.D. It records the gift of village Alandatīrtha in Śrīnilaya Bhoga to some *Brahmins* by *Yuvaraja* Vishṇuvardhana Vishamasiddhi. The grant was issued while the prince was stationed at Kurumarathī. In genealogy it mentions Raṇavikrama and Kīrttivarman (I). *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 303-11.

15. Lohner Plates of Pulakeśin II

Bāglan (Nasik), Sanskrit and Southern characters. (Śaka) year 552=630 A.D. It registers the gift of the village Goviyāṇaka in favour of Dāmadīkshita, resident of Lohanagara, by *Satyāśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārāja*. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 37-41.

16. Kopparam Plates of Pulakeśin II

Narasaraopet (Guntur, A.P.), Sanskrit and usual Chālukyan characters. Thursday, *Mahānavamī* of *Kārttika*, 21st regnal year=Roughly 10th October, 631 A.D. The epigraph records the gift of a field measuring eight hundred *nivartanas* of land in the village Irubuli in Karmarāshṭra to Vedaśarman by the king on the above *tithi*. The record indicates the authority of Pulakeśin II over the Guntur region as late as 631 A.D. *ABORI*,

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Vol. IV, p. 43f; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257-60.

17. Aihole Praśasti (Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II)

Hungund (Bijapur), Sanskrit and regular Southern characters. Śaka 556; 3735 years after the Bhārata war (which probably stands for Kaliēra=634-35 A.D.). This *praśasti* is the composition of Jain Ravikīrtti, who founded the temple of Jinendra. Ravikīrtti uses the occasion to furnish an account of the history of the Chālukyas and specially, the military exploits of his patron emperor Pulakeśin II. This unique inscription not only gives the authentic history of the Chālukyas upto Pulakeśin II but speaks about the conquests, campaigns and other events of his reign in chronological order. The record refers to Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. *IA*, Vol. V, p. 67f; ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 237f; *ASWI*, Vol. III, p. 129f; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.

18. Tummeyanūru Grant of Pulakeśin II

Find-spot unknown, Sanskrit and Southern characters, Lunar eclipse, *Kārttika Paurṇamāsī* without referring to an era or regnal year. The grant registers the gift of the village of Tummeyanūru in Chālukya *vishaya* to Māliṅgaṇaswami on the above specified date by the king. In the genealogy it mentions Pulakeśin I and his son Kīrttivarman I. *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 40-45.

19. Badami Fragmentary Stone Inscription

Badami (Bijapur), Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa characters. The record refers to the victorious metropolis of Vāṭāpī and mentions Polekeśi-Ballabha as the performer of the horse sacrifice. *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

20. Yekkeri Rock Inscription of Pulakeśin II

Parasgad (Belgaum), Sanskrit and regular Southern Brahmi characters. *Kārttika Purnamāsī*, Ist regnal year of Pulakeśin II. Roughly 610 A.D. This Śaiva epigraph records certain land in a

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certain town as the property of God Mahādeva. This inscription carries a few titles similar to the ones adopted by the Gupta kings of the North. *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 6-9.

21. Lakshmeśvar Inscription of the time of Pulakeśin II

Lakshmeśvar (Dharwar), Sanskrit and old Kannaḍa characters of 10th century. Undated. The record commences with the mention of the Chālukya king *Raṇaparākramāṅka* his son Eṛeyya and refers to *Satyāśraya*. Then it mentions king Sendraka Durggaśakti, son of Kundasakti and grandson of Vijayasakti, of the lineage of Bhujagendras, who granted a field measuring 50 *nivartanas* for perpetual worship of the Chaitya of *Śaṅkha Jinendra*. Fleet regards it as spurious. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 103-04; ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 218, No. 37.

22. Chipluṇ Plates of Satyāśraya

Chipluṇ (Ratnagiri), Sanskrit and Southern characters. Undated. Its main object is to announce that the maternal uncle of the king Satyāśraya Pulakeśin II, Sendraka king Śrīvallabha Senānandarāja, granted the village of Amaravāṭaka to *Brāhmaṇa* Maheśvara; besides it the latter also received an allotment at the village of Avañchapallī on the river Varuveṇā. *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 50-53.

23. A Grant of the Chālukya Pulakeśin II

Find-spot not known, language and characters not recorded. *Vaiśākha Purṇamāsī* without mentioning any era or regnal year. It records a gift of the village Tiyaregrama to Devaswamī by a king, who was son of Kīrttivarman and grandson of Pulakeśin; possibly Pulakeśin II. *JBBRAS* (NS), Vol. III, pp. 186-87.

24. Hirebidri Stone Inscription of Satyāśraya

Ranibennur (Dharwar), Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa characters, roughly 7th century A.D. The epigraph records a gift of land by (Ti)raka of the (Ga)ppara family. *ARASI*, 1935-36, p. 103; *ARSIE*, 1935-36, No. E100, p. 169.

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25. Kurugodu Kattley-Bande Rock Inscription of Satyāśraya

Bellary, Kannaḍa language and characters. Undated. This record belongs to the reign of the Chālukya king Satyāśraya, to whom a proper name is not given. It specifies the land measure and the coin to be used at Kurumgodu. *SII*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 53, p. 30.

26. Peddavadaguru Īśvara Temple Stone Inscription of King Satyāśraya

Gooty (Anantpur), Kannaḍa language and characters. Undated. The record belongs to the reign of Satyāśraya whose proper name appears to be Eṛeyitiyadigal (it stands for Eṛeya which was a name of Pulakeśin II). It records the grant of the village of Elpattu Simbhige, made tax-free by Eṛeyitiyadigal after subjugation of Raṇavikrama, probably a Bāṇa king. It also registers the grant of the village of Nadanūru with the consent of the Bāṇa king. *SII*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 46, pp. 26-27.

27. Pimpalner Plates of Pulakeśin II

Pimpalner (Dhulia), Sanskrit and old Kannaḍa characters. Śaka 310=388 A D. The epigraph purports to record that king Satyāśraya bestowed the village of Pippalanagara upon Nāgaswāmin Dīkshita. The record was written by Nāgeśvara. It is regarded as spurious for faulty date and late characters. *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 293-95; ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 216, No. 25.

28. Karnul Plates of Ādityavarman

Karnul, Sanskrit and Chālukya characters. *Kārttika Paurṇamāsī* in the 1st regnal year. This charter belongs to Ādityavarman, son of Pulakeśin II, who had defeated Harshavardhana. Its main object is to record a grant of an allotment of land in the villages of Mudakallu and Palagire to *Brāhmaṇas* at the time of the great festival of *Paitamahī* and *Hiraṇyagarbha*. *ASWI*, Vol. II, p. 15; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244; ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 66-68; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 223-25, 233-35.

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29. Nelakuṇḍa Grant of Chālukya Abhinavāditya I

Holekere (Chitaldurg), Sanskrit and Telugu Kannaḍa characters of the 7th century. *Bhādrapada Paurṇamāsī.* It contains an order of the king Abhinavāditya, son of Ādityavarman and grandson of Satyāśraya, the vanquisher of Harsha, announcing the gift of the village Nelakunḍa to *Brāhmana* Kuppaśarman. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 213-16.

30. Nerūr Plates of Queen Vijayabhattārikā

Kuḍal (Ratnagiri), Sanskrit and Chālukya characters. The 2nd day after the full moon day of the month of Āśvayuja. After giving the usual genealogy of the Chālukya dynasty upto Pulakeśin II, it mentions king Chandrāditya, the elder brother of Vikramāditya I, and the former's chief queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā. The object of this inscription is to record that in the 5th year of her reign, Vijayabhattārikā gifted some fields at the village of Narakāgāhāra to Āryaswāmī Dīkshita. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 163-64.

31. Kochre Plates of Queen Vijayamahādevī

Vengurlapeta (Ratnagiri), Sanskrit and the early Chālukya characters. 12th day of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha.* The record refers to king Chandrāditya and mentions a command of Queen Vijayamahādevī recording some donation after fasting on the above *tithi. JBBRAS*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 211; *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 44-47.

32. Hosur Plates of Ambera

Bangalore, Sanskrit and Hāle Kannaḍa characters. *Māgha Paurṇamāsī.* It records a gift of village Periyāli in Konikal district to 31 *Brāhmaṇas*, with (presentation of) a coin by Ambera, son or daughter of Satyāśraya, the conqueror o Harsha. It is believed to be spurious. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 89, 96-98.

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33. Turimella Inscription of Vikramāditya I

Cumbum (Karnul), 2nd regnal year of Vikramāditya I. Its main object is to record a gift of 150 units of land to Govṛishāṇa-Bhaṭṭāraka, by the mother of Ujenīpiśācha, the dear son of Ālakumara and right-hand man of Goggi-Bhatāra, in 2nd regnal year of king Vikramāditya. Ujenīpiśācha was governing Eṟuva *vishaya* with (Tuṟu)ṭatāka as its *adhishṭhāna*. *EI*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160-64.

34. Karnul Plates of Vikramāditya I

Karnul (A.P.), Sanskrit and usual Chālukya characters. *Paurṇamāsī*, *Saṅgamamahāyatrā*, 3rd regnal year of the king. The object of this inscription is to register a gift of 120 *nivartanas* of land on the east of village Ratnagiri in Nalavāḍī *vishaya* to Prabhākaraswāmī by the king. *ASSI*, Vol. II, p. 15, No. 99; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 225-27 and 233-37; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244f.

35. Amudalpadu (Ipaṟuṁkal) Plates of Vikramāditya I

Alampur, Mahbubnagar (A.P.), *Vaisakha Paurnamasi*, 5th regnal year = Roughly 30th April, 660 A.D. The object of this epigraph is to record the grant of the village of Ipaṟuṁkal in Vamgūravādi by Vikramāditya I, while stationed at Maṟṟūra to Sudarśanāchārya in payment of *gurudakshiṇā* on the occasion of the king's *Śivamaṇḍaladīkshā*. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 175-84; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 54-57.

36. Talamanchi Plates of Vikramāditya I

Nellore, Sanskrit and the Chālukya characters. Solar eclipse, *Śrāvaṇa*, 6th regnal year = Roughly 13th July, A.D. 660. It registers the gift of the village of Eḷasatti in favour of Meghāchārya, the preceptor of the king; written by Vajravarman of the Vaidya family. *Nellore District Inscriptions*, pp. 189 and 192; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 98-102.

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37. Karnul Plates of Vikramāditya I

Karnul, Sanskrit and the Chālukya characters, *Āshāḍha Paurṇamāsī*, 10th regnal year=A.D. 664-65. It conveys the command of the king Chālukya Vikramāditya I addressed to all people that at the request of the Sendraka Devaśakti, a field measuring 510 *nivartanas* of land besides the garden land at the village of Raṭṭagiri, on the bank of river Andirikā, was gifted to Keśavaswāmi, his son and other *Brāhmaṇas*. The charter was written by Jayasena. *ASSI*, Vol. II, p. 16, No. 100; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 244, No. 12; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 227-29 and 238-39.

38. Honnur Plates of Vikramāditya I

Davanagere (Chitaldurg), Sanskrit and early Kannaḍa characters. *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī* Śaka 592=10th April, A.D. 670. This inscription registers a grant consisting of 500 *nivartanas* of rice land to 20 *Brāhmaṇas* by the king at the instance of the Ganga prince Mādhava and his queen who was the daughter of Vikramāditya's elder brother Raṇarāgavarman, from Malliyūragrama near Kāñchī. *MASR*, 1939, pp. 129-37 (No. 50).

39. Gaḍval (Velnalli) Plates of Vikramāditya I

Gaḍval (Dharwar), Sanskrit and usual Chālukya characters. *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī*, 20th regnal year Śaka 596=Tuesday, 25th April, A.D. 674. It registers a royal gift of a field measuring 50 *nivartanas*, from the royal measure at the village Veḷnalli [(Cheḍu)lli according to Hultzsch)] in Chalikya *vishaya*, and certain other gifts at the request of the Gaṅga Mahādevī. The grant was issued when king's army has invaded the Choḷika *vishaya* and was encamped at Uragapura on the southern bank of the Kāverī. *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 100-06; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 46-54.

40. Savnūr Plates of Vikramāditya I

Savnur (Dharwar), Sanskrit and the Southern characters.

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Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī, 20th regnal year Śaka 597=25th April, A.D. 674. The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Vikramāditya and its main object is to record the grant of the village of Kuḍḍhanapayu (?) to Kauthiya and was issued from Uragapura at the request of Aṁgīpoḍi. *SMHD*, Vol. III, p. 53f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 115-19.

41. Dimmaguḍi Stone Inscription of Vikramāditya I

Gutty (Anantpur), Kannaḍa language and script. 27th regnal year of Vikramāditya I. It refers to a gift. *SII*, Vol. X, Ins. No. 23, p. 10.

42. Sanjan Plates of Buddhavarasarāja

Dahanu (Thana), Sanskrit and Southern characters, Solar eclipse, new moon *tithi* of *Pausha*. The record refers to an uncle of the reigning sovereign Vikramāditya I, Buddhavarasarāja a moon in the sky of the kings of the Chālukyas. He was a feudatory of his nephew who gifted a landed estate, consisting of mongo-orchard and two fields to Sagula Dīkshita. The grant was made at the city of Piṇuka and was written by Reva Āgaṇṇa. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 40-48.

43. Annavaram-Agrahāram Hero Stone Inscription

Darsi (Nellore), Early Telugu in early Chālukyan characters. Roughly middle of the 7th century A.D. This slightly mutilated record states that in the reign of Vikramāditya Maharāja impediments having arisen to (the enjoyment of) the earlier holding (Pūrvavṛtti) which was a gift of Kāḍuvatti (Pallavas) Viddamaya, made and set up a (sculpture of) Annuvaya. *ARSIE*, 1935-36, p. 24; *Nellore Ins.*, p. 287; *ARIE*, 1958-59, p. 24.

44. Aihole Stone Inscription of Vikramāditya I

Hungund (Bijapur), Kannaḍa language and archaic Kannaḍa characters. Undated. The record belongs to king Vikramāditya and refers to Ayyavole. It was written by Chandradeva.

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ARSIE, 1928-29, Ins. No. 18, p. 43; *BKI*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 2, No. 4.

45. Gaṇajur Stone Inscription of Vikramāditya I

Haveri (Dharwar), Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa characters. Roughly 7th century A.D. It mentions the name of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya Satyāśraya and seems to record a gift. It mentions Śri Ammaṇṇan as ruling the Nāḍu and certain Revaṇṇan. Damaged and mutilated. *ARSIE*, 1932-33, p. 96.

46. Hyderabad Grant of Vikramāditya I

Hyderabad (A.P.), Sanskrit and Cave alphabets. Undated. It registers a command addressed to all people concerning the gift of the village of Chintakuṇtha in Kaṇṇa *vishaya* to Nandaswāmi. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 75-78.

47. Karnul Plates of Vikramāditya I

Karnul (A.P.), Sanskrit and the usual Chālukya characters. Undated. It records the command of the king Vikramāditya I recording the gift of the village Aguṇṭe and Tebuṁḷaūra to Prabhākaraswāmī. *ASSI*, Vol. II, p. 16, No. 98; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 229-31 & 240-42.

48. Kuknūr Stone Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya I

Yalbargi (Raichur, Karnāṭaka), Kannaḍa language and characters. Undated. It registers certain gifts of land as *Pannāsu* and mentions king Chandrāditya *Bhaṭṭāraka* and prince Vinayāditya. It also informs that Sindarasa was administering Kukkanūr. *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38, Ins. No. 212B.

49. Kurtākoṭi Plates of Vikramāditya I

Gadag (Dharwar), Sanskrit and Kannaḍa characters. Sunday, the new moon day between months of *Vaiśākha* and *Jyeshṭha*. Under constellations *Rohiṇī* and Great Bear, when

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sun was in the sign of Bull, Solar eclipse, 16th regnal year Śaka 532 (may be a mistake for Śaka 592). It purports to record that Vikramāditya while residing at Kisuvoḷal bestowed upon Raviśarmā of *Basari Saṁgha* the village of Kūṟutakūṇte in the Beḷvola. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 217-20.

50. Ramapuram Chālukya Inscription

Mahbubnagar (A.P.), Telugu language and Telugu Kannaḍa characters of about middle of the 7th century A.D. Undated. It belongs to the reign of king Vikramāditya I and records the gift of land to Śaṅkaraswāmin, Ayich Śarman, Revaśarman and others, by Bālāditya Mahārāja, who was probably a feudatory of the king. *IAR*, 1963-64, p. II-3, No. 7.

51. Paṇiyal (Hyderabad) Plates of Vinayāditya

Sanskrit and Telugu Kannaḍa characters. *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī*, 2nd regnal year Śaka 604=27th April, 682 A.D. Its main object is to register the gift of the village Paṇiyāla to Mādhavaswāmī by the king from his camp at the city of Bānaṁkallu. The grant was given at the request of Svāshivāraja and was written by Puṇyavallabha. *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 2 and 18; *CPIAPGM*, Vol. I, pp. 58-63.

52. Lakshmeśvar Stone Inscription of Vinayāditya

Lakshmeśvar (Dharwar), Sanskrit and old Kannaḍa characters. *Māgha Paurṇamāsī* Śaka 608 (expired) 5th or 7th regnal year of the king. It registers a grant made by the king to some *Āchārya* of Devagaṇa sect of Mūlasaṁgha. The grant was issued by the king from his camp at the city Raktapura. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 112; ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 218, No. 38.

53. Jejurī Plates of Vinayāditya

Saswad (Poona), Sanskrit and Southern characters. Śaka 609 (expired). 9th regnal year. These plates register the gift of the village Vīra, on the north bank of the river Nīrā in Satimāla Bhoga and Palayaṭṭhaṇa *vishaya* to Allaśarman by the king

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Vinayāditya, while camping at the village of Bhaḍali. The grant was written by Mahāsandhivigrhika Śrī Rāmapuṇyavallabha. *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 62-65.

54. Togarachedu Plates of Vinayāditya

Nandyal (Karnul), Sanskrit and Chālukyan characters. *Kārttika Paurṇamāsī*, 10th regnal year, Śaka 611 (expired)=It registers a royal command concerning the grant of Ādityañchha and Maṟumanna at the village of Togarachedu in Peḍekal *vishaya* and Maṟuñchha and Maṟumanna at the village of Gullaveḷendvu, Eṟeyūr and Baṭṭeyūr to Bhimaśarman, while camping at Pampātīrtha. It was written by Rāmapuṇyavallabha, minister for peace and war. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 85f; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 231-33.

55. Poona Plates of Vinayāditya

Poona, Sanskrit and Chālukyan characters. *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī* Śaka 612 (expired), 10th regnal year=Friday, 29th April, 690 A.D. It registers the gift 50 *nivartanas* of land at the village of Torave by the king to two *Brāhmaṇas* for '*Kanyādharmārtha*'. The grant was issued from Mañchoha village and was written by Rāmapuṇyavallabha, minister for peace and war. *EI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 289-92.

56. Virareddīpalle Stone Inscription of Vinayāditya

Tadapatri (Anantpur), Telugu and archaic Telugu characters. 10th regnal year. It registers a gift of land at Nitūru by some rāju (name lost) when Vāṇarāja was governing over Vaṁiganūrnāḍu. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8, 9 and 31, No. 26B; *IAR*, 1958-59, p. 57.

57. Karnul Grant of Vinayāditya

Karnul (A.P.), Sanskrit and old Kannaḍa characters. Śaka 613, 11th regnal year. It registers the grant of the village Musunipāru on the north bank of Krishṇa-Veṛṇā at the request of his son Yuvarāja Vijayāditya, in celebration of some

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victory just achieved. It was issued from Eluṁpuṇḍale and was written by Rāmapuṇyavallabha, minister for peace and war. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 88-90.

58. Māyalūr Plates of Vinayāditya

Koilkuntla (Karnul), Sanskrit and Telugu Kannaḍa characters. Śaka 614 (expired), 11th regnal year. It registers the gift consisting of 108 *nivartanas* of land as "Maṟuñchamaṟumanna" at the village of Alikuṇḍe in Peḍekal *vishaya* to Trivikrama Śarmā. It was issued from Mahākoṭatīrtha and was written by *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Śrī Rāmapuṇyavallabha. *JOR*, Vol. X, pp. 27-46.

59. Sorab Grant of Vinayāditya

Sorab (Shimoga), Sanskrit and Southern characters. *Dakshiṇāyana Saṁkrānti, Rohiṇī nakshatra*, Saturday, Śaka 614, 11th regnal year=22nd June, 692 A.D. This non-sectarian record registers the grant of the village Sālivoge in Eḍevoḷal *vishaya* to Dīvākara Śarman at the request of *Chitravāhan Mahārāja* by the king. It was issued from village Chitraseḍu and was drafted by Rāmapuṇyavallabha, minister for peace and war. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 94; ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 146f.

60. Dayyamdinne Plates of Vinayāditya

Adoni (Bellary), Sanskrit and Southern characters. *Āshāḍha Pūrṇimā, Dakshiṇāyana Kāla*, 12th regnal year, Śaka 614=22nd June, 693 A.D. It registers gifts of 50 *nivartanas* of land to each three *Brāhmaṇas* at the village of Ulchala in Nalavāḍi *vishaya* at the request of Marddakārī by the king. It was drafted by minister for peace and war, Rāmapuṇyavallabha and was issued from Talaya-Kheḍagrāma near the northern bank of the river Tagara. *EI*, Vol. XXII, pp. 24-29.

61. Kolhapur Plates of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya

Kolhapur (M.S.), Sanskrit and archaic Kannaḍa characters. *Māgha Paurṇamāsī*, 13th regnal year, Śaka 615=It records the

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grant of *mannārddha* (tax) of the village Endamaduvu(la), and the 50 *nivartanas* of land the *mannārddha* (tax) of land in the later village to Daśaguṇa Śarmā at the request of Kaliṅgeti (Kaliṅgapati) by the king. The charter was issued from the camp of the king on the bank of the river Sinna and was written by Rāmapuṇyavallabha. *KI*, Vol. II, pp. 6-11, No. 3.

62. Harihara Grant of Vinayāditya

Harihara (Mysore), Sanskrit and old Kannaḍa characters. *Kārttika Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka 617=14th regnal year=9th October, 694 A.D. It records a command issued by the king from Karaṅjapatra near Hareshapura concerning the gift of the village Kirukagamāsi at Eḍavoḷal division in the Vanavāsī district to Śāṇaśarmā at the request of Aḷuvarāja. The charter was written by Rāmapuṇyavallabha. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 91-94.

63. Patoda Grant of Vinayāditya

Gurdaspur (Punjab), Sanskrit and Chālukya characters. *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka 617=14th regnal year. It records the gift of the village Sthudhirāṭa in *vishaya* of Uttarāda in Chemulya division to Sagaraśarman, while camping at Dhāpyapura, by the king. *IA*, Vol. XL, p. 240f.

64. Igaḍuru Stone Inscription of Vinayāditya

Anantpur. The epigraph belongs to 14th regnal year of the king Vinayāditya Satyāśraya and records a gift of land by Bāṇa feudatory ruling over Gaṅga-Renāḍu. *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 53, No. 2.

65. Iṭagī Stone Inscription of Vinayāditya

Yalbargi, Raichur, undated, roughly 7th century A.D. It bestows the title of Yuddhamalla on Vinayāditya and mentions Gaṇa Somayāji. *ARIE*, 1955-56, pp. 5 and 38, No. 210B.

66. Balaṁgave Stone Inscription of the time of Vinayāditya

Shikarpur (Shimoga, Karnataka), old Kannaḍa language

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and characters. Undated. This non-sectarian inscription records the remission of certain fees and duties by an official Kandarba at the time of accession to the office. It refers to king *Rājāśraya* Vinayāditya and his feudatory Mahārāja Pogilli of the Sendraka family. *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 94; ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 142-46.

67. Iṭagī Spurious Grant of Vinayādıtya

Kopbal, Incorrect Sanskrit and Nagari characters of 12th century A.D. *Vaiśākha Pāurṇamāsī*, Thursday, *Vyatipāta*, *Ānanda Saṁvatsara*, Śaka 516. It purports to record an endowment of the village Niḍagundi in Kisukāḍu—70 division to Somayāji Bhāskara Chauverabhaṭṭa, on the occasion of bestowing *mahādānas* by the king at the holy place of Mahākūṭa. *ARSIE*, 1939-40 to 40-42, p. 20.

68. Pali Plates of Vinayāditya

Karaḍ (Satara), Incorrect Sanskrit and characters belong to the 9th century A.D. *Kārttika Śukla Pañchamī, Bhaumavāra Kālayukta, Saṁvatsara.* Śaka 520. It purports to record that on the above specified *tithi*, when king Vinayāditya was blessed with a son, he granted a *Vāṭikā* at the village of Ellapura situated in Karahāṭaka *vishaya* on the north bank of the river Vātabhinnā in favour of Vāsudeva of Kannaḍa origin. The grant was issued from Raktapura and was written by Keśava Āryya. *JBISM*, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 6-16.

69. Dharwar Plates of Vinayāditya

Dharwar, Sanskrit and Nāgarī characters, *Vaiśākha Amāvasyā, Thursday Vyatipāda. Kālayukta Saṁvatsara*, Śaka 520=Friday, 11th April, 598 A.D. (*IE*, Vol. II, p. 222). It purports to belong to the reign of king Vinayāditya and registers the gift of the village Hodalūru in the Vāgaḍage—70 in Kūṇḍichha—1000 province to Keśava Chauvera Bhaṭṭa. The grant was issued from Kurunda, where the king had gone after his coronation festival. The grant is regarded as spurious for faulty date and late characters. *ARSIE*, 1933-34, p. 4, No. A2.

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70. Pañchaliṅga Inscription of Bhuvanaikamalla

Karnul, Śaka 990=1068 A.D. The inscription belongs to king Bhuvanaikamalladeva of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The epigraph registers the re-endowment of land to the temple of Pañchaliṅgadeva, which had previously been made by Vinayāditya *Satyāśraya*, when he was camping at Rāmeśvaratīrtha in Kanḍur-nādu in the course of *digvijaya*. *IAR*, 1954-55, p. 28.

71. Jamalagama Grant of the Chālukya Vijayāditya or Kasar-Sirasi Plates of Vijayāditya

Nilanga (Osmanabad), Sanskrit and Southern characters. *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī*, 1st regnal year, Śaka 619=3rd April, 697 A.D. The epigraph states that while camping at Rāsenapura, king Vijayāditya granted the village of Jamalagāma situated in Challuṁkideśa (Challukideśa, according to Kolte) to three *Brāhmaṇas* at the request of Narendrāditya. The charter was written by Rāmapuṇyavallabha, *Saṁdhivigrahika*. *VSMV*, 1966, pp. 17-36; *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 313-16.

72. Chandan Stone Inscription of Vijayāditya

Tadpatri (Anantpur), Telugu language and archaic Telugu characters. 2nd regnal year of the king=A.D. 697-698. The inscription records a gift of land at Chañjoṇa as *Pannavisa* to Sāmaḍiyāru to a *Brāhmaṇa* by Choli-Mutturāju, when Bāṇarāja was ruling over Gaṅga-Renāḍu. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30.

73. Nitturu Inscription of Vijayāditya

Anantpur, language and characters not recorded. 2nd regnal year of the king. It mentions the Bāṇa feudatory of Vijayāditya, ruling over Vaṁguru *vishaya*. *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 53, No. 2 (ii).

74. Badami Pillar Inscription of Vijayāditya

Badami (Bijapur), Sanskrit and Prākṛt (Fleet) Sanskrit and archaic Kannaḍa (Panchmukhi) and Chālukya characters.

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Jyeshtha Paurṇamāsī, Śaka 621, 3rd regnal year=20th May, 699 A.D. The epigraph records the installation of gods Brahmā, Vishnu and Maheśvara at the capital city of Vāṭāpi by the king's mother Vinayavatī. It also mentions the gift of several taxes and income in kind made by her to the temple of the triad. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 60-61; *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 2-4.

75. Kottapalle Inscription of Vijayāditya

Anantpur, language and script not recorded; 3rd regnal year of the king. It belongs to the reign of king Vijayāditya and mentions the Bāṇa feudatory of the king as ruling over Vaṁguru *vishaya*. *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 53, No. 2 (ii).

76. Māyalūr Plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya

Koilkuntla (Karnul), Sanskrit and early Telugu Kannaḍa characters. *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī*, 4th regnal year, Śaka 622= Thursday, 8th April, 700 A.D. It records that when king Vijayāditya was encamped at Pottalikānagara (Bāvihāra *vishaya*), he granted the village of Yukrombe to the west of Viñchihichedi in Peḍekal district as an *ekabhoga* gift to Māraśarman. The grant was written by *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Rāmapuṇyavallabha. *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp.311-14.

77. Nerūr Plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya

Kudāl (Ratnagiri), Sanskrit and Chāḷukya characters. *Āshāḍha Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka 622, 4th regnal year=Sunday, 6th June, 700 A.D. (*Adhika Āshādha Pūrṇimā*). Monday, 5th July, 700 A.D. It records the command of the king concerning the gift of the village Nerūr in Iridige district at the request of Nande...ya (?) to Devaswāmī from the victorious camp at the city of Rāsenanagara. *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 125-30.

78. Koṭṭurū Inscription of Vijayāditya

Tadpatri (Anantpur), Telugu (Imprecatory verses in Sanskrit) and Telugu Kannaḍa characters. 4th regnal year of the king= 700 A.D. It records a gift of 80 units of cultivable land as

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'*Pannasa*' gift at the village of Peṇukaparuti by Pūllamukkī Boḷakaṇamayāru to Kumāraśarman, when Vāṇarāja was ruling as the feudatory over Vaṅganūrnādu. *EI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 69-71.

79. Raygad Plates of Vijayāditya

Mahad (Kolaba), Sanskrit and early Chālukya characters. *Mahāshṭami*, Śaka 625, 8th regnal year=8th September, 703 A.D., if *mahāshṭami* is equated to Kṛishṇa *Janmāshṭamī*. It records a command of the king, issued from the victorious camp at Marivasati in Karahātaka, concerning the gift of the village named Jalla Nirulana in Talitatātahāra *vishaya* in favour of Nātherachaturvedī (?). The grant was written by Nirvadya Puṇyavallabha. *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 14-17.

80. Beṅkankoṇḍa Hero-Stone Inscription

Ranebennur (Dharwar), archaic Kannaḍa, 8th regnal year of the king. It records the death of a hero in a fight. It also mentions Nariyādhār Prithiarasa and Nāgarasa. *ARSIE*, 1934-35, p. 147, No. E6.

81. Elapur Grant of King Vijayāditya

Satara, Sanskrit and South Indian characters. *Pausha Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka 626, 9th regnal year=Tuesday, 16th December, 704 A.D. (expired); Sunday, 3rd January, 706 A.D. (current). It records the grant of the village Bahamanavāṭagrāma in Alakula *vishaya* to Keśavaswāmī, while the king was encamped at Elāpura. It also registers the gift of 50 *nivartanas* of land to Durggaśarman, written by Nirvādya Puṇyavallabha. *IHQ*, Vol. IV, pp. 425-30.

82. Cholachaguḍḍa (Bagalkot) Plates of Vijayāditya Satyāśraya

Badami (Bijapur), Sanskrit and Southern alphabets; *Kārttika Paurṇamāsī*, *Somagrahaṇa*, Śaka 627 (expired), 10th regnal year=Thursday, 5th November, 705 A.D. (No lunar eclipse). Its main object is to record the gift of the village Loha-gajja-Vātaka situated in Mallagrāma-30 by the king Vijayāditya at

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the request of Kuṁkumadevī, while camping at Kuhuṇḍi to Somaśarman. *JKU*, Vol. I, pp. 193-227; *ARSIE*, 1934-35, pp. 7 and 57, No. 22A.

83. Nerūr Plates of Vijayāditya

Kudal (Ratnagiri), Sanskrit and Chālukya characters. *Mahā-saptamī*, Śaka 627, 10th regnal year of the king. It records a royal command concerning the donation of the village Hikulamba (?) at the request of Upendra to *Brāhmaṇās*. Written by *Mahāsaṁdhivigrahika* Nirvādya Puṇyavallabha. *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 130-33.

84. Shiggaon Plates of Vijayāditya

Shiggaon (Dharwar), Sanskrit and Southern alphabets; *Āshādha Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka 630, 11th regnal year=Monday, 20th June, 707 A.D. The main object of the charter is to register some grants made by the king from his camp at Kisuvoḷal when he had gone to Banavāsī in order to see the Alūpa ruler Chitravāhana. The grant was made at the request of Chitravāhana to the Jain monastery, constructed by Kuṁkumadevī at Purigere. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317-24.

85. Aihole (Huchchīmallī-Gudi Temple) Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya

Hungund (Bijapur), old Kannaḍa language and characters. *Aśvāyūja Paurṇamāsī*, at the time of the equinox, 13th regnal year, 3rd month. It records the gift of Eṯtugolugasam which was one Sontige of oil one each oil mill to be given to Venerable one. It was sanctioned by the king. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 285f.

86. Satara Plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya

Satara (Mahārāshṭra), Sanskrit and Southern characters. *Kārttika Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka 632, 14th regnal year. Sunday, 12th October, 710 A.D. It records a royal command concerning the donation of a village Karuva on the bank of Krishnā (Veṇṇā) and a field called Paṭṭikā (?) measuring 25 *nivartanas* at

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Karhātakanagara to Bhānudeva at the request of Vikramāditya, while encamped at Karahāṭakanagara. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 322-26.

87. Boargaon Plates of Vijayāditya

Not recorded, incorrect Sanskrit and Nāgarī characters of 9th or 10th century A.D. *Phālguna Amāvasyā*, *Vyatipāta*, *Brihaspativāra*, sun eclipse, *Ānanda saṁvatsara* Śaka, 520 (probably a mistake for 635). It records that king Vijayāditya granted the village of Nagarsaige to Govardhana (?). Written by *Mahāsaṁdhivigrahika* Śrī Rāmapuṇyavallabha. The epigraph is regarded as spurious for faulty date, late characters and inaccuracy in language. *SMHD*, Vol. II, pp. 23-31.

88. Alampur Inscription of Vijayāditya

Alampur (Mahbubnagar, A.P.), Sanskrit except a sentence in line No. 7 of 'A' record is in Kannaḍa. Early Telugu Kannaḍa characters (A) *Siddhamātṛikā* (early Brāhmi). (A) 13th *Vaiśākha Śukla*, Śaka 636, 18th regnal year (current)= Friday 13th May, 713 A.D. (B) Śaka 635 (expired)=712-713 A.D. The epigraph states that at the command of emperor Vijayāditya the teacher Isānāchārya constructed a *prakārabandha* (enclosure). It does not record anything about the teacher. The 'B' portion of this record is highly damaged and comparison of the extant portion indicates it to be a copy of 'A' portion in *Siddhamātṛikā* script. *EI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 121-24.

89. Bapgaon Plates of Vijayāditya

Saswad (Poona), Sanskrit and Chālukya characters; *Chaitra Paurṇamāsī*, *Saṁkrānti*, Śaka 640, 22nd regnal year=Monday, 21st March, 718 A.D. It registers a grant of the village Nirgundi in Samaragiri *vishaya* by the king in favour of *Brāhmaṇa* Vataswāmī. The grant was issued from the victorious capital of Hatampura and was written by *Mahāsaṁdhivigrahika* Niravādya Puṇyavallabha. *JBISM*, Vol. IX, pp. 1-6.

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90. Konḍupalli Stone Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya

Gooty (Anantpur), Kannaḍa language and characters; 23rd regnal year of Vijayāditya. The inscription refers to a gift of land made by someone while Vikramāditya Bali Inḍra Bāṇarāja of Bali *Kula* was governing Tūrumāra *vishaya* during the reign of king Vijayāditya. *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 359; *SII*, Vol. X, p. 9, No. 23.

91. Lakshmeśvar Stone Tablet Inscription of Vijayāditya

Lakshmeśvar (Dharwar), Sanskrit and old Kannaḍa characters of 10th century A.D.; 28th regnal year, Śaka 645=723 A.D. This highly damaged record belongs to Chālukya *Satyāśraya* (Vijayāditya). The details of the grant have been completely lost. *IA*, Vol. III, p. 112, No. 39 (I Part, lines 1 to 28 only).

92. Lakshmeśvar Inscription of Vijayāditya

Lakshmeśvar (Dharvar), Sanskrit and old Kannaḍa characters. *Phālguna Pūrṇimā*, Śaka 651 (expired), 34th regnal year =Friday, 18th February, 729 A.D. It records that while the king's victorious camp was at the city of Raktapura, he gifted the village of Kardam, south of Pulikere, to his father's priest Udayadeva Paṇḍita (Nirvadya Paṅḍita) who was the house pupil of Sri Pūjyapāda and belonged to Devaguṇa sect for the benefit of the temple of *Śaṅkha* Jinendra at Pulikara. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 112 (lines 29-53, II Part).

93. Ulchala Stone Slab Inscription

Karnūl, Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa characters. 35th regnal year of Vijayāditya=730-39 A.D. It records that crown-prince Vikramāditya (Vikramāditya II) went on an expedition to Kāñchī, collected tribute from *Parameśvara* Pallava and while returning presented Ulchala and Pariyālu to Durvinīta Ereyappa, who granted certain concessions. *ARIE*, 1943-44, Ins. No. 22f, p. 90.

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94. A Grant of the Chālukya Vijayāditya

Find-spot not known, Sanskrit and Chālukyan characters. *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka 653, 36th regnal year=Thursday, 26th April, 731 A.D. It records the donation of a village by the king from his victorious camp at Raktapura to Bhavasvāmī Bhaṭṭa. The grant was written by Nirvādya Puṇyavallabha and details about village and *vishaya* are lost. *EI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 21-24.

95. Nerūr Plates of Vijayāditya

Kuḍal (Ratnagiri), Sanskrit and Chālukya characters. Undated. It records the command jointly issued by king Vijayāditya and crown-prince Vikramāditya, concerning the gift of the village Malavūra to Śaivāditya Dīkshita. *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 132-35.

96. Mahākūṭa Temple Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya

Badami (Bijapur), old Kannaḍa language and Chālukyan characters. Undated. The epigraph records the gift, a harlot Viṇāpoti, described as the heart's darling of Vijayāditya. She was the daughter of Kuchipoti and granddaughter of Revamāñchal. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 102-04.

97. Gaṇajūr Stone Inscription

Haveri (Dharwar), Kannaḍa language and Kannaḍa characters. Undated. It belongs to the time of king Vijayāditya and seems to record the dubbing ceremony (of a chief). The inscription is mutilated. *ARSIE*, 1032-33, p. 96, No. 44.

98. Kurtākoti Stone Slab Inscription of Vijayāditya

Gaḍag (Dharwar) Kannaḍa language and archaic Kannaḍa characters. Undated. The epigraph belongs to the reign of the Chālukya king Vijayāditya *Satyāśraya, Mahārājādhiraja Parameśvara Bhaṭāra*. It refers to Loketinimmadi, who was governing over Kuruttakuṁte and Mupaṇa, who built a big

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temple (mahādegula) there and made a gift to it. *ARSIE*, 1926-27, No. 127; *SII*, Vol. XI (Bom. Kar. Ins. Vol. I, Pt. I), No. 2, p. 2.

99. Rānibennur Taluka Hero-Stone Inscription

Rānibennur (Dharwar), language and characters not recorded; undated. The record belongs to the time of king Vijayāditya Satyāśraya and commemorates the death of some hero. *ARASI*, 1934-35.

100. Bannikop Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya

Bankapur (Dharwar), Kannaḍa language and archaic Kannaḍa characters; undated. The record refers to the reign of Vijayāditya Satyāśraya and belongs either to the Chālukyas or their feudatory Sendrakas. It states that a certain (Pa)gana built a temple and installed god Nandiśvara and endowed the temple some land, while Banniyūr was governed by the *mahājanas*. *ARASI*, 1930-34, p. 244; *ARASE*, 1930-34, p. 119, No. 16.

101. Halageri Stone Inscription of Vijayāditya Satyāśraya

Kopbal, Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa characters. Undated. The epigraph belongs to king Vijayāditya *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* and introduces certain officer of Kopana and Gutti named Garoja, holding the office of Karaṇam (Secretary). Fragmentary. *Jainism in South India and Some Jain Inscriptions* (P.B. Desai), pp. 374-75, No. 47.

102. Chippagiri Bhogeśvara Temple Stone Inscription

Alur (Bellary), Kannaḍa language and characters. Undated. It belongs to the reign of Vijayāditya and registers a grant of Bantarasa in favour of Dharmma *Bhaṭāra*, consisting of 50 *mattars* of land and a flower garden. It also records the donation of some land to a temple with the consent of the *mahājanas*. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 28, No. 48; *ARASI*, 1919, No. 691.

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103. Danavalapāḍu Stone Slab Inscription

Jammalamadugu (Cuddapah), Kannaḍa language and characters, undated. This damaged inscription registers the grant of the Chālukya king Vijayāditya to Bhūpāditya, consisting of some fields. Fragmentary. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 28, No. 49.

104. Jakkali Hero-Stone Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya

Ron (Dharwar), Kannaḍa language and script. Undated. The record belongs to king Vijayāditya Bhaṭāra and refers to a raid on the village Jakkali by (?)...yaditya. Incomplete. *SII*, Vol. XI, p. 2.

105. Betapalli Stone Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya

Gooty (Anantpur), Kannaḍa language and characters. Undated. It registers the grant of 20 *mattars* of black soil, 50 *mattars* of red soil, a *mattar* of wet land and 2 *mattars* of garden land to Talereyar by Vikramāditya, the uncle of Bāṇarāja, ruler of Ṭūramara *vishaya* as king's feudatory. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 27, Ins. No. 47.

106. Nandalapāḍu Inscription of Vijayāditya

Anantpur, Telugu language and characters. Undated. It refers to Bāṇarāja as ruling from Pambuligi. This record registers a grant of land to a *Brāhmaṇa* of Bhāradwāja gotra. *IAR*, 1964-65, Part II, p. 1, No. 2.

107. Kammavaripalle Inscription

Anantpur, Telugu language and characters of 8th century. Undated. The inscription belongs to the reign of king Vijayāditya and records a grant of land to a *Brāhmāṇa*. *IAR*, 1964-65, Part II, p. 1, No. 1.

108. An Inscription of Chālukya Vijayāditya

Raichur, Telugu and Telugu Kannaḍa characters. Undated.

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Roughly 8th century. It refers to Murujati of Kopaṇa and to the chief of Gutti who was responsible for some grant the details of which are lost. *IAR*, 1963-64, Part II, p. 12, No. 57.

109. Lakshmeśvar Inscription of Prince Vikramāditya II

Lakshmeśvar (Dharwar), old Kannaḍa language and script. The inscription throws valuable light on local administration and taxes. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 188-91.

109A. Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription of Vijayāditya and his son Vikramāditya (II)

Badami (Bijapur), old Kannaḍa language and script. Undated. The record belongs to the reign of Vijayāditya and mentions his son Vikramāditya II. It registers the grant of a stone-throne or pedestal and of a bracelet or bangle to the idol of the temple of Lokapalesvara, built by Anantaguṇa. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 165-66.

110. Tippalūru Inscription of Vikramāditya II

Kamalapuram (Cuddapah), Telugu language and Telugu Kannaḍa characters. 1st regnal year of the king; referring to the reign of Vikramāditya II, the record registers a gift (of land) as *Pannasa* at Maṛṛalūru by Aṇṇārāpuli Vimbulu to *Brāhmaṇa* Iśvara of Veṅgī, when Porṁukharāma was governing the territory lying near Pennā on behalf of the Bāṇa king. *EI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 12-17.

111. Lakshmeśvar Stone Inscription of Vikramāditya II

Lakshmeśvar (Dharwar), Sanskrit and old Kannaḍa characters. *Māgha Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka 656, 2nd regnal year=Sunday, 24th January, A D. 734. It registers that after the repairing and embellishment of Śveta Jinālaya at *Śankhatirtha Vasati* at Pulikere, the king granted 50 *nivartanas* of land measured from *gavyūti* to Vijayadeva Pandita of Devagana sect and Mūlasaṁgha lineage. *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 104, 106-07 and 110-11 (3rd Part, lines 61 to 82).

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112. Narwan Plates of Vikramāditya II

Chipluṇ (Ratnagiri), Sanskrit and Chālukyan characters, on the occasion of the sun turning to the North, Śaka 664, 8th regnal year=21st December, 741-42 A.D. It registers the grant of the village Narwaṇa together with Chindramada in Chipralūṇa *vishaya* to *Brāhmaṇas* at the request of Rashtrakuṭa Govindrāja, son of Śivarāja. Written by Anivārita Puṇyavallabha, the *saṅdhivigrahika*. *JBISM*, Vol. X, p. 12f; *EI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 125-31.

113. Hire-Madhure Vīragaḷ Inscription

Challakere (Chitaldurg), old Kannaḍa language and characters. Undated, roughly 740 A.D. This viragaḷ records the death of a hero Dasiamman, during the seizure of Kāñchī by someone (name lost) who was the subordinate of Vikramādityarasar (Vikramāditya II). *MASR*, 1939, pp. 121-25.

114. Kāñchī Inscription of Vikramāditya

Kanjeevaram, Kannaḍa language and old Kannaḍa characters. Undated. It records that after the conquest of Kāñchī, Vikramāditya (II) (*Satyāśraya*) did not confiscate the property of Rājasiṁheśvara temple but returned it to the god. This edict was written by Anivārita Puṇyavallabha, under the authority of *Vallabhadurjaya*. *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 359-60.

115. Aihole (Durga Temple) Inscription

Hungund (Bijapur), old Kannaḍa language and characters. Undated. It mentions a grant in favour of Āditya, a priest of the temple of Āṭaḍa-Āle Komāra Singa, by Revadibadda during the reign of Vikramāditya. Fleet assigns it to Vikramāditya II. *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 285-86.

116. Aihole Stone Inscription of Vikramāditya

Hungund (Bijapur), Kannaḍa language and archaic Kannaḍa characters. Undated. This damaged record belongs

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to the reign of Vikramāditya *Bhaṭāra* and mentions Ayyavole and the writer Chandradeva. *ARSIE*, 1928-29, p. 43; *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I (*BKI*, Vol. 1, Part I).

117. Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription of Vikramāditya

Badami (Bijapur), old Kannaḍa language and characters; undated. The record belongs to king Vikramāditya II and mentions that queen consort Lokamahādevī confirmed the singers of the locality in the enjoyment of grants and privileges granted to singers by Vijayāditya. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 166f.

118. Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription of Queen Lokamahādevī

Badami (Bijapur), Old Kannaḍa language and script. Undated. It registers a grant in favour of the temple of Lokeśvara by the queen of Vikramāditya II to whose reign the record belonged. *IA*, Vol. X, p. 167f.

119. Paṭṭaḍakal Virūpāksha Temple Inscription of Lokamahādevī

Badami (Bijapur), old Kannaḍa language and script. Undated. The record refers to Lokamahādevī, the Queen of Vikramāditya II, and architect named Sūtradhārī, who built the temple constructed by her. It also refers to the readmission into the caste of the artisans of the locality. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 162-64.

120. Paṭṭaḍakal Inscription of Lokamahādevī

Badami (Bijapur), Old Kannaḍa language and script Undated. It records the construction of the temple by the queen Lokamahādevī, in celebration of her husband Vikramāditya II having thrice conquered Kāñchī. It also refers to the readmission into the caste of artisans. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 164-65.

121. Paṭṭaḍakal Virūpāksha Temple Inscription of the Queen of Vikramāditya II

Badami (Bijapur), Sanskrit and early old Kannaḍa script.

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Undated. It seems to record that the temple of god Lokeśvara built by Lokamahādevī, the queen consort of Vikramāditya II, belonging to Haihaya lineage. The said temple was built to the south of the temple of god Vijayeśvara. *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 168-69.

122. Chandan Stone Inscription of Vikramāditya Satyāśraya II

Tadpatri (Anantpur), Telugu and archaic Telugu. Undated. It mentions Vāṇarāja as ruling over some *vishaya* and records some gift during the reign of the king Vikramāditya Satyāśraya. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9. No. 16B.

123. Devigeri Stone Inscription of Vikramāditya II

Haveri (Dharwar), Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa. Undated. This mutilated record mentions Kālisinda and seems to register a gift of land during the reign of Vikramāditya II. *ARSIE*, 1932-33, p. 93.

124. Bhairavakoṇḍa Inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya

Cumbum (Karnul), Telugu and archaic Kannaḍa characters. Undated. It records the setting up of the images of Gaṇapati, Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara by Kallibol, during the reign of Vikramāditya II. *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 79-81.

125. Byāgavaḍi Stone Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya II

Hangal (Dharwar), Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa. Undated. This mutilated record belongs to the reign of Vikramāditya II and seems to record the remission of certain cesses. *ARIE*, 1949-50, pp. 7 and 25, No. B78.

126. Kelavarkop Fragmentary Inscription

Hangal (Dharwar), Kannaḍa. Undated. The record belongs to the period of Vikramāditya II and mentions Banavāsīpura. *ARIE*, 1949-50, p. 28, No. 113.

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127. Gudugudi Stone Slab Inscription of Vikramāditya II

Hangal (Dharwar), Kannaḍa language and script. Undated. It refers to the construction of a tank and belongs to the reign of Vikramāditya (II). *ARIE*, 1947-48, pp. 1 and 22, No. B194.

128. Ainuli Plates of Kīrttivarman II

Find-spot not known, Sanskrit and Southern characters, 4th regnal year of king Kīrttivarman II. It records the presence of the king in camp on the banks of the river Bhīmā in his 4th regnal year. *MASR*, 1909, p. 12A (Fragmentary).

129. Kendur Plates of Kīrttivarman II

Khed (Poona), Sanskrit and Southern alphabets, *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī*, lunar eclipse, Śaka 672 (expired), 6th regnal year. It records the grant of village Bepaṭṭi in Veḷvoḷa to *Brāhmaṇa* Rāmaśarman at the request of his queen. The grant was issued from Raktapura and was written by Dhanañjaya Puṇyavallabha. *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 200-206.

130. Aṇṇigeri Inscription of Kīrttivarman II

Navalgund (Dharwar), Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa, 6th regnal year of the king. It records the construction of *Cheḍiya* (Chaitya) by Kaliyamma, holding the office the headman of Jebulageri and erection of a sculpture by Kondisularakuppa, whose other name was Kīrttivarman *Gosasi*. *EI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 204-06.

131. Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrttivarman II

Kolar (Karnataka), Sanskrit and Southern alphabets, *Bhādrapada Paurṇamāsī*, Śaka 757 A.D. It records the grant of the villages Sulliyūr, Nengiyūr, and Naṇḍīvalli in Panuṅgal *vishaya* to Madhavaśarman by the king at the request of Dosirāja. It was issued from Bhandāragavattige and was written by Anivārita Dhanañjaya Puṇyavallabha. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 23f; *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 200-05.

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132. Āḍūr Inscription of the time of Kīrttivarman II

Hangal (Dharwar), Sanskrit (1st portion), ancient Kannaḍa (2nd portion) and archaic Kannaḍa alphabets. Undated, roughly 7th or 8th century A.D. The present inscription contains two records. The first record introduces a certain chief, who is stated to have granted 25 *nivartanas* of land for the promotion of *Jinālaya* and almshouse constructed by Dharma Gāmuṇḍa, who was the disciple of Prabhā (Chandra). The second record refers itself to *Prithivīvallabha Rājādhirāja Parameśvara* Kīrttivarmarasa and introduces Sindarasa as administering Gaṅgi-Pāṇḍivūrū. It registers the gift of some land for the temple of Jinendra to Prabhāchandra Gurava of Chediya of Paralūru by Mādhavavaṭṭi-arasa. *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 60-61; *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 4-8.

133. Koṛṛapaḍu Ceiling Inscription of the time of Kīrttivarman II

Jammalamadugu (Cuddapah), Telugu (archaic). Undated. The record registers the gift of four *maruṭṭu* of land at Malavūrū by Per-Bāṇadhirāja, a subordinate of Kīrttivarman II to Āditya Bhaṭāra (sun god). *ARSIE*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, pp. 122 and 232, No. 418B.

134. Peddapeta Stone Inscription of Kīrttivarman II

Tadpatri (Anantpur), Telugu (archaic). Undated. It registers a gift of 25 *maruṭṭu* of land at Kuḍalūru to Duggiya by Ranavijaya. It also speaks about Prithivi-Bāṇarāja and Chālukya Kīrttivarman II. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30, No. 23B.

135. Chandan Stone Inscription of Kīrttivarman II

Tadpatri (Anantpur), Kannaḍa (archaic), undated. It registers the gift of land as *Pannavisa* to Kanavadi (Gaṇapati) by Dharanappan, while he was ruling Cheñjona and Bāṇarāja was ruling over Sūramāra *vishaya*, a feudatory of Kīrttivarman II. It was written by Bhārata. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30, No. 17B.

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136. Paṭṭaḍakal Pillar Inscription

Badami (Bijapur), Sanskrit and Nāgari; new moon *tithi* of *Śrāvana*, sun eclipse=25th June, 754 A.D. Referring to the temple of Vijayeśvara by Vijayāditya (now Saṅgameśvara) and the Lokeśvara temple of Lokamahādevī, the queen consort of Vikramāditya II, of Haihaya lineage. It also refers to sculptor Subhadeva. *ASWI*, Vol. I, p. 32; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 168; *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 1-8.

137. Nilūru Broken Pillar Inscription of Kīrttivarman II

Gooty (Anantpur), Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa characters. Undated. This undated record refers to the reign of Kīrttivarman II, who is stated to have remitted certain taxes from some *gāmuṇḍas*. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 28-29, No. 50.

138. Kurukunḍi Slab Inscription of Kīrttivarman II

Alur (Bellary), Kannaḍa language and script. The date is lost. The record refers to the reign of Kīrttivarman *Satyāśraya* and registers the gift of some land. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 29, No. 51.

139. Huli Inscription of a Chālukya King

Saundatti (Belgaum), Kannaḍa, undated. The record belongs to some king of the Chālukya dynasty whose name is lost. It contains dynastic preamble, which is also mutilated. *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 51-52.

140. Koṭṭūr Inscription of Chālukya Prince Parahitarāja

Parasgad (Belgaum), old Kannaḍa language and characters. Undated. It mentions a Chālukya prince Parahitarāja and describes how a Śaiva ascetic named Śambu (Śambhu) performed the ceremony of walking through the fire and then stood in it till he was burnt to death. *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 69.

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141. Diḍgur Inscription of Kaṭṭiyara

Karajgi (Dharwar), Kannaḍa language and script. Undated. It refers to the reign of king Kaṭṭiyara, under whom a certain Dosi was governing Banavāsī. It registers a general assignment of some tax, under the orders of the king. *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 251-53.

142. Chandan Stone Inscription

Tadpatri (Anantpur), Telugu (archaic), undated (8th century), seems to record a gift of land and belongs to some Chālukya king of Bādāmi. Mutilated. *ARIE*, 1958-59, pp. 8-9 and 30, No. 18B.

143. Nagarūru Īśvara Temple Slab Inscription of Nāgamaṅgala

Alur (Bellary), Kannaḍa language and script. Undated. It refers to the reign of the Chālukya king, name lost and records the grant of some land by Nāgamaṅgala. *SII*, Vol. IX, pp. 29-30, No. 52.

144. Devageri Hero-Stone Inscription of Prithivīvallabha

Haveri (Dharwar), Kannaḍa (archaic), 8th century A.D. It records the death of the hero in a fight at Chandur. The name of the king is lost but title Prithivīvallabha still remains. *ARASI*, 1930-34, p. 235.

145. Siruguppi Stone Inscription

Hubli (Dharwar), Kannaḍa, roughly 6th or 7th century A.D. It refers to the administration of Siri(gu)ppe by the king's son and mentions Kundasattiarasa and Śiri Vakkaṭa Kanadevī. *ARSIE*, 1933-34, p. 121, No. E32.

146. Kamḍoḷḷi Inscription

Kunḍgol (Bijapur), Kannaḍa, undated. The record is damaged and mentions king Jayasiṁha. *ARSIE*, 1938-39,

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p. 217, No. 73.

147. Badami Rock Inscription

Bijapur, Sanskrit and archaic Kannaḍa characters of 8th century A.D. The record states that death is preferable to dishonour, for the former gives instantaneous pain to kill, while the latter gives mortification day after day. *KR*, Vol. I, p. 11, No. 8; *IA*, Vol. X, p. 61.

148. Badami Temple Inscription

Bijapur, Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa characters of 8th century A.D. It refers to two thousand members of the Mahā-chaturvidya Samudāya of Vāṭāpi and records the remittance of the spoils of the cobblers of the place to Nidiyamāra. *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 8-9, No. 4.

149. Badami Rock Inscription

Bijapur, Kannaḍa language and characters. The inscription states that a certain Dammana made a gift of Gaṇapati and Nāgakumara (images). *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12, No. 9.

150. Badami Pillar Inscription

Bijapur, Kannaḍa language and alphabets of the 8th century A.D. The record states that one who opposes Pandemi-riyan of the Paradas (merchants) will be defeated and killed. *KI*, Vol. I, pp. 9-10, No. 5.

151. Badami Rock Inscription

Bijapur, Kannaḍa language and characters of the 7th-8th century A.D. These three subjoined inscriptions record the names of Bahupriyān, Govinda-Viprān, Akshara-Meru, and Śrimat (lost). These were the names of visitors or pilgrims. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 12, Nos. 10, 11, 12 (Naik's Nos. 85, 86, 87).

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152. Sibara Mahākūta Inscription

Badami (Bijapur), Kannaḍa and archaic Kannaḍa characters, undated. It records the installation of the rock-cut figures of *Vināyaka* and *Phaṇīndra* by one Kuśala Dharmmana. *KI*, Vol. I, p. 10, No. 6.

153. Aihole Lebel Records

Bijapur Chālukyan characters assignable to 7th century A.D. Some inscriptions of it contain names like Ānandasthavira, Maureyān and Bisadān, etc. *IAR*, 1957-58, p. 57, No. 23.

154. Kaira Grant of Vijayarāja

Gujarat, *Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī*, Kalachuri year 394=9th April, A.D. 643. It refers to the Gujarat Chālukya ruler Vijayarāja ruling the territory round about Surat and Broach districts. It was issued from Vijayapura. *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 237f; *DKD*, p. 348.

155. Muḍgapaḍra (Karchella) Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya

Find-spot unknown, Sanskrit and early Telugu Kannaḍa alphabets; 7th *Śukla Paksha Jyeṣṭha*, Kalachuri year 420= 23rd May, A.D. 668. It refers to Vikramāditya I, besides his predecessor, who is said to have meditated on the feet of his parents and Nāgavarman. Further it mentions Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha and his son *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śilāditya, who gifted the village of Mudgapadra to Revāditya. It was issued from Navasārikā and composed by Dhanañjaya. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 117-22.

156. Navsārī Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya

Surat, Sanskrit western variety of Southern characters, 13th *tithi*, *Śuklapaksha Māgha* year 421 (Kalachuri)=28th January, A.D. 671. Its main object is to register the gift of village Asaṭṭi in the Kanhavala *āhāra* of the Bāhirikā *vishaya* to Bhogi-

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kasvamin. It refers to Vikramāditya I, his brother Jayasiṁha and nephew and crown prince of Gujarāt Śryāśraya Śilāditya, who issued this grant. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 1f; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 229f; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 123-27.

157. Nasik Plates of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha

Sanskrit and western variety of Southern characters; 10th *Śuklapaksha Chaitra* year 436 (Kalachuri)=21st (20th) March, 685 A.D. It refers to Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha, son of Pulakeśin II, who defeated the army of Vajjaḍa between the Māhi and the Narmadā. It records the gift of Dhoṅdhaka in the Nāsikya *vishaya* to *Brāhmaṇa* Trivikrama. *SMHD*, Vol. I, p. 8f; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 127-31.

158. Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa

Palghar (Thana), Sanskrit and Southern characters, 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in Śaka 613 (expired)=7th April, 691 A.D. After giving the Chālukya genealogy upto Vikramāditya I, it refers to Jayasiṁha and the crown prince of Navsārī, Vinayāditya Prithivīvallabha, Yuddhamalla Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa, who donated some villages and domestic sites to the temple of the sun god at Mānapura. *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17-22.

159. Nirpan (Nandgam) Plates of Nāgavardhana

Igatpuri (Nasik), Sanskrit and Gurjara characters. Undated, it refers to Nāgavardhana Tribhuvanāśraya, son of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha, who was the younger brother of Pulakeśin II, and records the gift of the village Belegrāma in Goparāshṭra *vishaya* to the establishment of the god Kapāleśvara. It mentions Pulakeśin II as meditating on the feet of Śrī Nāgavardhana. It is considered spurious. *JBBRAS*, Vol. II, pp. 4 and 12; ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 16-28; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 123-25.

160. Surat Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya

Sanskrit and western variety of Southern alphabets; *Paurṇa-*

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māsī Śrāvana, year 443 (Kalachuri)=2nd August, 692 A.D. (current) or 23rd July, 693 A.D. (expired). After mentioning the Chālukyan Lord *Satyāśraya Vallabha* Śrī Vinayāditya, it refers to his paternal uncle Jayasiṁha and the latter's son prince Śryāśraya Śilāditya, who issued these plates from Kusumeśvara near Karmaneya, recording the gift of a field in the village of Osumbhala to Mātrīśvara Dikshita. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 132-37.

161. Añjanerī Plates (first set) of Bhogaśakti

Trimbak (Nasik), Sanskrit and western variety of Southern characters. Year 461 (Kalachuri)=A.D. 709-10 (current) or 710-11 (expired). It refers to the Chālukya sovereign Vikramāditya I and his feudatory Svāmīchandra of Harīschandra family, the ruler of Purī-Koṅkaṇa. The latter's son was Simharāja, whose son Bhogaśakti gifted eight villages for the worship of god Nārāyaṇa, in the town of Jayapura. It refers to some coins, taxes and administrative officers. *EI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225-38; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 146-54.

162. Añjanerī Plates (second set) of Bhogaśakti

Trimbak (Nasik), Sanskrit and western variety of Southern alphabets with circles on top letters. Undated. Refers to Prithivīchandra Bhogaśakti, the Chālukyan feudatory of Purī-Koṅkaṇa, who ordered the resettlement of Samaragiri paṭṭana with its suburb after its devastation. Its main object is to record the rights and privileges and exemptions granted to merchants and residents. It mentions several crimes and punitive fines, besides referring to several taxes. *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 225f; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 154-59.

163. Dive Agar Plates of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa

Kolba (MS.), Sanskrit and Southern characters. Śaka 649=A.D. 727-28. It records the gift of the village Talavallikā in Pathikā *vishaya* by Prince Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha to goddess Kātyāyanī, whose image was set up on the bank of the temple tank (deva-droṇī) in Kadadroho-Votinera. *IAR*, 1962-63, p. 52, No. 34 (ii).

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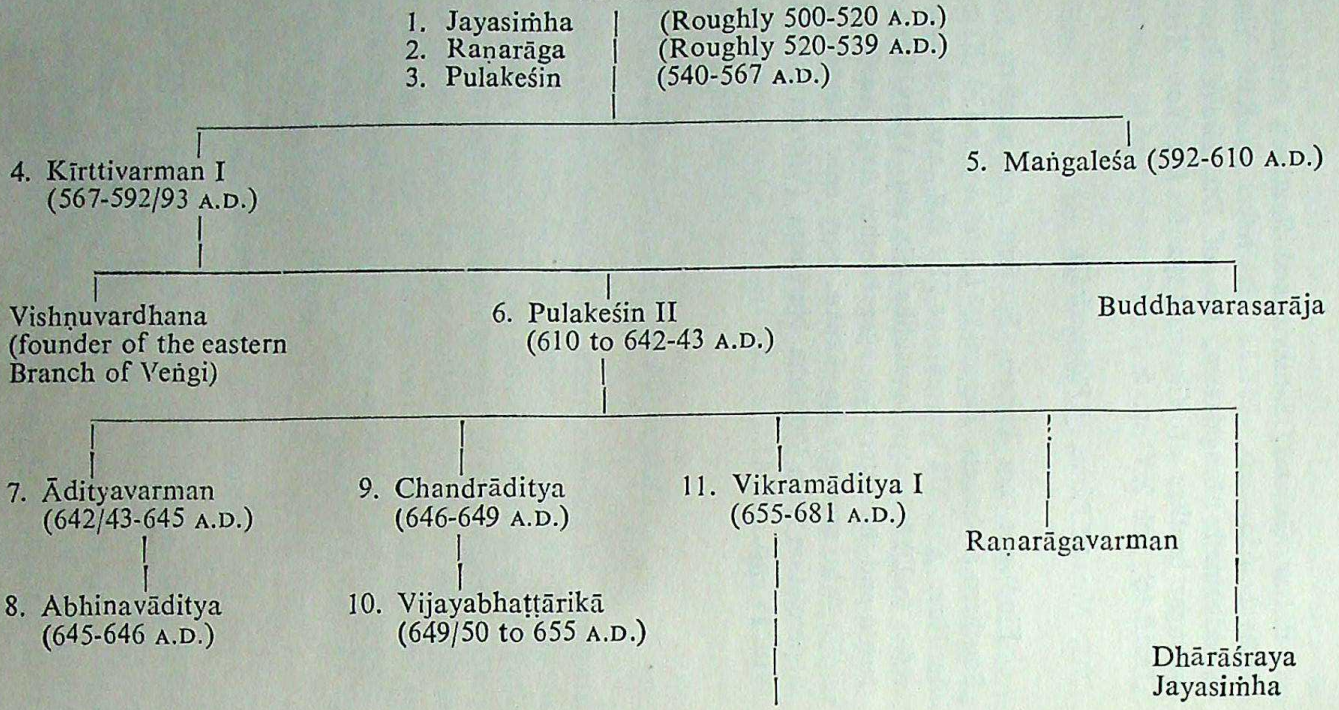
164. Balsar Plates of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa

Balsar, Gujarat, Sanskrit and Southern characters, Śaka Saṁvat 653=A.D. 731-32. It refers to Rājā Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Maṅgalarasa, son of Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha, a younger brother of Vikramāditya I. *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 75; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

165. Navsārī Plates of Pulakeśirāja

Find-spot not known, Sanskrit and western variety of Southern alphabets. *Pūrṇamāsī Kārttika* year 490 (Kalachuri)= 1st Nov., A.D. 738 (current) or 21st Oct., A.D. 739 (expired). It refers to Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha, his son Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa and the latter's younger brother Avānījanāśraya Pulakeśirāja, who repulsed the Tājika army near Navsārī and won appreciation from Vallabha Narendra (Vikramāditya II). *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 137-45.

THE CHART OF GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BADAMI


1. Jayasiṁha (Roughly 500-520 A.D.)
2. Raṇarāga (Roughly 520-539 A.D.)
3. Pulakeśin (540-567 A.D.)
4. Kīrttivarman I (567-592/93 A.D.)
5. Maṅgaleśa (592-610 A.D.)
Vishṇuvardhana (founder of the eastern Branch of Veṅgi)
6. Pulakeśin II (610 to 642-43 A.D.)
Buddhavarasarāja
7. Ādityavarman (642/43-645 A.D.)
8. Abhinavāditya (645-646 A.D.)
9. Chandrāditya (646-649 A.D.)
10. Vijayabhaṭṭārikā (649/50 to 655 A.D.)
11. Vikramāditya I (655-681 A.D.)
Raṇarāgavarman
Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁha

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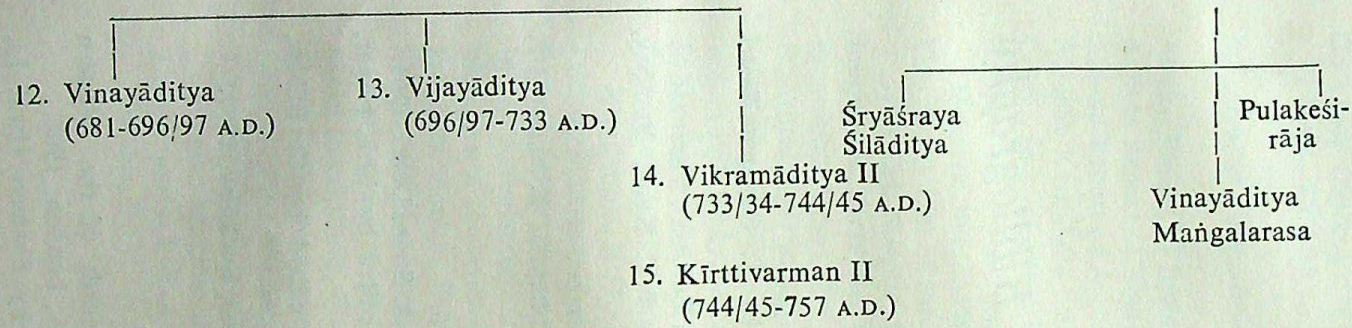

Notes: (a) The names bearing serial numbers indicate the order of succession.
(b) Figures in brackets indicate approximate reign-periods of kings.

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